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Introductory Remarks.

The following tract grew almost insensibly out of the strong impressions received from recent accounts of the emancipated British Islands. Joseph John Gurney, well known among us as a member and minister of the Quaker denomination, was so kind as to visit me after his return from the West Indies, and then transmitted to me his "Familiar Letters to Henry Clay,"* describing a winter in those regions. The satisfaction which I felt was so great, that I could not confine it to myself. I began to write, as a man begins to talk after hearing good news. Many thoughts, connected with the topic, rushed successively into my mind; and gradually, and with little labor, this slight work took the form it now wears. I am encouraged to hope that it is of some little value from the spontaneousness of its growth.

This tract was prepared for the press some time ago, and should have been published immediately after the appearance of Mr. Gurney's letters. But I was discouraged by the preoccupation of the minds of the whole community with the politics of the day. I was obliged to wait for the storm to pass; and I now send it forth in the hope, that some at least are at leisure to give me a short hearing. Not that I expect to be heard very widely. No one knows more than I do, the want of popularity of the subject. Multitudes would think it a waste of time to give their thoughts to this great question of justice and humanity. But still there are not a few to whom the truth will be welcome. Such will find, that in these pages I am not going again over the ground which I have already travelled, and I hope they will feel, that, having begun with "Slavery," I am fitly ending with "Emancipation."

The latter part of the tract discusses a topic, which I have occasionally touched on, but which needs a more full exposition, and on which I have long wished to communicate my views. The Duties of the Free States, in regard to Slavery, need to be better understood, and my suggestions I hope will be weighed with candor. As I have taken little interest for years in the politics of the day, and as my hope for the country rests not on any party, but solely on our means of education, and on moral and religious influences, I ought not to be accused of wishing to give a political aspect to the anti-slavery cause. I am very unwilling, that it should take the form of a struggle for office and power. Still it has political relations; and of these I shall speak with perfect freedom. The topic is an exciting one; but as I look at it with perfect calmness, I hope I shall not disturb the minds of others.

Nov. 15th, 1840.

Emancipation.

At length a report of West Indian Emancipation has reached us, to which some heed will be given; and it is so cheering, that I should be glad to make it more extensively known. We have had, already, faithful and affecting accounts of this great social revolution; but coming from men, who bear an unpopular name, they have received little attention. Here we have the testimony of a man in no way connected with American Abolitionists. In his long residence among us, Mr. Gurney has rather shunned this party, whether justly or wisely I do not say. The fact is stated simply to prevent or remove a prejudice from which he ought not to suffer. He came to this country on no mission from the enemies of slavery in his own land. Nor did he come as so many travellers do, to gather or invent materials for a marketable book; but to preach the gospel in obedience to what he thought "a heavenly call." In this character he visited many parts of our land, and every where secured esteem as a man, and won no small attention to his religious teachings. After many labors here, he felt himself charged with a divine message to the West Indies. His first object in travelling over these islands was to preach; but in his various journies and communications with individuals, he naturally opened his eyes and ears to the subject, which there engrosses almost every thought, and in which his own philantiropy gave him special interest. In his "Letters" he furnishes us with the details and a few results of his observation, interspersed with some personal adventure, and with notices of the natural appearances and productions of regions so new and striking to an Englishman. The book has the merit of perfectly answering its end, which is not to reason about emancipation, but to make the reader a spectator, and to give him facts for his own reflection. It is written with much ease, simplicity, clearness, and sometimes, with beauty. It is especially distinguished by a spirit of kindness. It not only expresses a sincere Christian philantiropy, but breathes a good humor which must disarm even the most prejudiced. They who have refused to read anti-slavery productions because steeped in gall, will find no bitter ingredients here. Not that there is a spirit of compromise or timidity in our author. He is a thoroughly kind-hearted man, and conscientiously believes that he can best serve the cause of truth and liberty by giving free utterance to his own benignant spirit. The book has not only the substantial merit of fidelity on a subject of immense importance, but another claim, which may operate more widely in its favor. It is entertaining. It does not give us dull and dry wisdom, but the quick, animated observations of a man, who saw with his heart as well as his eyes, who took a strong interest in what he describes.

That the book is entirely impartial, I do not say. This highest merit of a book seems to require more than human virtue. To see things precisely as they are, with not a shade or coloring from our own prejudices or affections, is the last triumph of self-denial. The most honest often see what they want to see; and a man, so honored as Mr. Gurney, is very apt to be told what he wants to hear. But the book bears strong marks of truth. The uprightness of the author secures us against important error. Let even large deductions be made for his feelings, as a quaker, against slavery, for his sympathy with the negro and the negro's friends. After every allowance the great truth will come out, that the hopes of the most sanguine advocates of Emancipation have been realized, if not surpassed, in the West Indies.

Such a book is much needed. There has been in this country a backwardness, almost an unwillingness, to believe good reports from the west Indies. Not a few have desired to hear evil, and have propagated so industriously every fiction or exaggeration unfavorable to freedom, that the honest and benevolent have been misled. The general state of mind among us in regard to West Indian Emancipation has been disheartening. So deadly a poison has Southern slavery infused into the opinions and feelings of the North, especially in the larger cities, that few cordial wishes for the success of Emancipation have met our ears. Stray rumors of the failure of the experiment in this or that Island have been trumpeted through the country by the newspapers, and the easy faith of the multitude has been practised on, till their sympathies with the oppressed have become blunted. I have myself seen the countenance of a man, not wanting in general humanity, brighten at accounts of the bad working of emancipation. In such a state of feeling and opinion, a book like Mr. Gurney's is invaluable. The truth is told simply, kindly; and, though it may receive little aid from our newspapers, must find its way into the hands of many honest readers. I offer a few extracts, not to take the place of the book, but in the hope of drawing to it more general attention. So various and interesting are the details, and so suited to the various prejudices and misapprehensions common in our country, that my only difficulty is to make a selection,—to know where to stop. He first visited Tortola.

"We could not but feel an intense interest in making our first visit to a British island, peopled with emancipated negroes. Out of a population of nearly five thousand, there are scarcely more than two hundred white persons; but we heard of no inconveniences arising from this disparity. We had letters to Dr. Dyott, the Stipendiary Magistrate, and to some of the principal planters, who greeted us with a warm welcome, and soon relieved us from our very natural anxiety, by assuring us that freedom was working well in Tortola. One of our first visits was to a school for black children, under the care of Alexander Bott, the pious minister of the Parish Church. It was in good order—the children answered our questions well. We then proceeded to the jail; in which, if my memory serves me right, we found only one prisoner, with the jailor, and the judge!—Our kind friend, Francis Spencer Wigley, the Chief Justice of the British Virgin Islands, happened to be there, and cheered us with the information, that crime had vastly decreased since the period of full emancipation." p. 25.

His next visit was to St. Christopher's.

"I mounted one of the Governor's horses, and enjoyed a solitary ride in the country. Although it was the seventh day of the week, usually applied by the emancipated laborers, to their private purposes, I observed many of them diligently at work on the cane grounds, cutting the canes for the mill. Their aspect was that of physical vigor, and cheerful contentment, and all my questions as I passed along, were answered satisfactorily. On my way, I ventured to call at one of the estates, and found it was the home of Robert Claxton, the solicitor General of the Colony, a gentleman of great intelligence and respectability. He was kind enough to impart a variety of useful, and in general, cheering, information. One fact mentioned by him, spoke volumes. Speaking of a small property on the island belonging to himself, he said, 'Six years ago, (that is, shortly before the act of emancipation,) it was worth only £2,000, with the slaves upon it. Now, without a single slave, it is worth three times the money. I would not sell it for £6,000.' This remarkable rise in the value of property, is by no means confined to particular estates. I was assured that, as compared with those times of depression and alarm which preceded the act of emancipation, it is at once general and very considerable. I asked the President Crook, and some other persons, whether there was a single individual on the Island, who wished for the restoration of slavery. Answer, 'Certainly not one.'" p. 34.

"'They will do an *infinity* of work," said one of my informants, '*for wages*.'

"This state of things is accompanied by a vast increase in their own comforts. Our friend Cadman, the Methodist minister, was on this station, during slavery, in the year 1826. He has now returned to it under freedom. 'The change for the better,' he observed, 'in the dress, demeanor, and welfare of the people, is *prodigious*.' The imports are vastly increased. The duties on them were £1,000 more in 1838, than in 1837; and in 1839, double those of 1838, within £150. This surprising increase is owing to the demand on the part of the free laborers, for imported goods, especially for articles of dress. The difficulty experienced by the gentry living in the town, in procuring fowls, eggs, &c. from the negroes, is considerably increased. The reason is well known—the laborers make use of them for home consumption. Marriage is now become frequent amongst them, and a profusion of eggs is expended on their wedding cakes! Doubtless they will soon learn to exchange these freaks of luxury, for the gradual acquisition of wealth." p. 36.

He next visited Antigua.

"Our company was now joined by Nathaniel Gilbert, an evangelical clergyman of the church of England, and a large proprietor and planter on the island. Both he and Sir William, the Governor, amply confirmed our previous favorable impressions respecting the state of the colony. On my inquiring of them respecting the value of landed property, their joint answer was clear and decided. 'At the lowest computation, the land, without a single slave upon it, is fully as valuable now, as it was, including all the slaves, before emancipation.' In other words, the value of the slaves is already transferred to the land. Satisfactory as is this computation, I have every reason to believe that it is much below the mark. With respect to real property in the town of St. John's, it has risen in value with still greater rapidity. A large number of new stores have been opened; new houses are built or building; the streets have been cleared and improved; trade is greatly on the increase; and the whole place wears the appearance of progressive wealth and prosperity." p. 43.

"Extensive inquiry has led us to the conviction, that on most of the properties of Antigua, and in general throughout the West Indies, one-third only of the slaves were operative. What with childhood, age, infirmity, sickness, *sham* sickness, and other causes, full two-thirds of the negro population, might be regarded as dead weight. The pecuniary saving, on many of the estates in Antigua, by the change of slave for free labor, is at least *thirty per cent.*" pp. 45, 46.

"We had appointed a meeting at a country village called Parham. It was a morning of violent rain; but about two hundred negroes braved the weather, and united with us in public worship. It is said that they are less willing to come out to their places of worship *in the rain*, than was the case formerly. The reason is curious. They now have *shoes and stockings*, which they are unwilling to expose to the mud." p. 47.

"It is a cheering circumstance of no small importance, that there are no less, as we were told, than *seven thousand scholars* in the various charity schools of Antigua. In all these schools the Bible is read and taught. Who can doubt the beneficial moral effect of these extensive efforts?" p. 48.

"The vicar of St John's, during the last seven years of slavery, married only one hundred and ten pair of negroes. In the single year of freedom, 1839, the number of pairs married by him, was 185.

"With respect to crime—it has been rapidly diminishing during the last few years. The numbers committed to the house of correction in 1837—chiefly for petty offences, formerly punished on the estates—were 850; in 1838 only 244; in 1839, 311. The number left in the prison at the close of 1837, was 147; at the close of 1839, only 35.

"Nor can it be doubted that the personal comforts of the laborers have been, in the mean time, vastly increased. The duties on imports in 1833, (the last year of slavery) were £13,576; in 1839, they were £24,650. This augmentation has been occasioned by the importation of dry goods and other articles, for which a demand, entirely new, has arisen among the laboring population. The quantity of bread and meat used as food by the laborers is surprisingly increased. Their wedding cakes and dinners are extravagant, even to the point, at times, of drinking champagne!

"In connection with every congregation in the island, whether of the Church of England, or among the Dissenters, has been formed a friendly society. The laborers subscribe their weekly pittances to these institutions, and draw out comfortable supplies, in case of sickness, old age, burials, and other exigencies. Thus is the negro gradually trained to the habits of prudence and foresight."

"A female proprietor, who had become embarrassed, was advised to sell off part of her property, in small lots.—The experiment answered her warmest expectations. The laborers in the neighborhood, bought up all the little freeholds with extreme eagerness, made their payments faithfully, and lost no time in settling on the spots which they had purchased. They soon framed their houses, and brought their gardens into useful cultivation with yams, bananas, plantains, pine-apples, and other fruits and vegetables, in shading plots of sugar cane. In this way Augusta and Liberta sprang up as if by magic. I visited several of the cottages, in company with the Rector of the Parish, and was surprised by the excellence of the buildings, as well as by the neat furniture, and cleanly little articles of daily use, which we found within. It was a scene of contentment and happiness; and I may certainly add, of industry: for these little freeholders occupied only their leisure hours, in working on their own grounds. They were also earning wages as laborers on the neighboring estates, or working at English Harbor, as mechanics." p. 49.

"We were now placed in possession of clear documentary evidence, respecting the staple produce of the island. The average exports of the last five years of slavery, (1829 to 1833 inclusive) were, sugar, 12,189 hogsheads; molasses 3,308 puncheons; and rum 2,468 puncheons. Those of the first five years of freedom, (1834 to 1838 inclusive,) were, sugar 13,545 hogsheads; molasses 8,308 puncheons; and rum 1,109 puncheons: showing an excess of 1,356 hogsheads of sugar, and of 5,000 puncheons of molasses; and a diminution of 1,359 puncheons of rum. This comparison is surely a triumphant one; not only does it demonstrate the advantage derived from free labor during a course of five years, but affords a proof that many of the planters of Antigua have ceased to convert their molasses into rum. It ought to be observed that these five years of freedom included two of drought, one, very calamitous. The statement for 1839, forms an admirable climax to this account. It is as follows: sugar 22,383 hogsheads; (10,000 beyond the last average of slavery,) 13,433 puncheons of molasses; (also 10,000 beyond that average,) and only 582 puncheons of rum! That, in the sixth year of freedom, after the fair trial of five years, the exports of sugar from Antigua, almost doubled the average of the last five years of slavery, is a fact which precludes the necessity of all other evidence. By what hands was this vast crop raised and realized? By the hands of that lazy and impracticable race, (as they have often been described,) the negroes. And under what stimulus has the work been effected! Solely under that of moderate wages." p. 53.

He next visited Dominica, of which he gives equally favorable accounts; but I hasten to make a few extracts from his notices of Jamaica, the island from which the most unfavorable reports have come, and in which the unwise and unkind measures of the proprietors, particularly in regard to rents, have done much to counteract the good influences of emancipation.

"We were glad to observe that the day (Sunday) was remarkably well observed at Kingston—just as it is in many of the cities of your highly favored Union. A wonderful scene we witnessed, that morning, in Samuel Oughton's Baptist Chapel, which we attended, without having communicated to the people any previous notice of our coming. The minister was so obliging as to make way for us on the occasion, and to invite us to hold our meeting with his flock, after the manner of Friends. Such a flock we had not before seen, consisting of nearly three thousand black people, chiefly emancipated slaves, attired after their favorite custom, in neat white raiment, and most respectable and orderly in their demeanor and appearance. They sat in silence with us, in an exemplary manner, and appeared both to understand, and appreciate, the doctrines of divine truth, preached on the occasion. The congregation is greatly increased, both in numbers and respectability, since the date of full freedom. They pour in from the country partly on foot, and partly on mules, or horses, of their own. They now entirely support the mission, and are enlarging their chapel at the expense of £1,000 sterling. Their subscriptions to this and other collateral objects, are at once voluntary and very liberal. 'I have brought my mite for the chapel,' said a black woman, once a slave, to S. Oughton, a day or two before our meeting; 'I am sorry it is no more;' she then put into his hand two pieces of gold, amounting to five dollars." p. 74.

"Here it may be well to notice the fact, that the great majority of estates in Jamaica, belong to absentee proprietors, who reside in England. In Jamaica, they are placed under the care of some attorney, or representative of the owner; one attorney often undertaking the care of numerous estates. Under the attorney, is the overseer, on each particular property, on whom the management almost exclusively devolves. This state of things is extremely unfavorable to the welfare of Jamaica. If the proprietors cannot give their personal attention to their estates, it would certainly be a better plan to lease them to eligible tenants on the spot—a practice which has, of late years, been adopted in many instances. It is only surprising that estates never visited by the proprietor, and seldom by the attorney, but left to the care of inexperienced young men, often of immoral character, should prosper at all. Nor would they prosper, even as they now do, but for two causes; first the exuberant bounty of nature, and secondly the orderly, inoffensive conduct, and patient industry of the negro race." p. 85.

"The rapid diffusion of marriage among the negroes, and the increase of it even among the white inhabitants in Jamaica, is one of the happiest results of freedom. We were assured on good authority that four times as many marriages took place, last year in Jamaica, as in an equal population, on an average, in England—a fact which proves not only that numerous new connections are formed but also that multitudes who were formerly living as a man and wife without the right sanction, are now convinced of the sinfulness of the practice, and are availing themselves, with eagerness, of the marriage covenant. It appears that upwards of 1600 negro couples, were married in the Baptist churches alone, during the year 1839." p. 86.

"In the Parish (or *county*) of St. Mary, rent and wages have been arranged quite independently of each other, and labor has been suffered to find its market, without obstruction. The consequence is, that there have been no differences, and the people are working well. The quantity of work obtained from a freeman there, is far beyond the old task of the slave. In the laborious occupation of holing, the emancipated negroes perform double the work of the slave, in a day. In road making the day's task under slavery, was to break four barrels of stone. *Now*, by task-work a weak hand will fill eight barrels, a strong one from ten to twelve." p. 89.

"At the Baptist station at Sligoville, we spent several hours. It is located on a lofty hill, and is surrounded by fifty acres of fertile mountain land. This property is divided into one hundred and fifty freehold lots, fifty of which had been already sold to the emancipated laborers, and had proved a timely refuge for many laborers who had been driven, by hard usage, from their former homes. Some of them had built good cottages; others, temporary huts; and others again were preparing the ground for building. Their gardens were cleared, or in process of clearing, and in many cases already brought into fine cultivation. Not a hoe, I believe, had ever been driven into that land before. *Now*, a village had risen up, with every promise of comfort and prosperity, and the land was likely to produce a vast abundance of nutritious food. The people settled there were all married pairs, mostly with families, and the men employed the bulk of their time in working for wages on the neighboring estates. The chapel and the school were immediately at hand, and the religious character of the people stood high. Never did I witness a scene of greater industry, or one more marked by contentment for the present, and hope for the future. How instructive to remember that two years ago, this peaceful village had no existence!"—p. 90.

"On our return home we visited two neighboring estates, of about equal size, (I believe,) and equal fertility; both, among the finest properties for natural and local advantages, which I any where saw in Jamaica. One was in difficulty —the other all prosperity. The first was the estate already alluded to, which had been deprived of so many hands, by vain attempts to compel the labor of freemen. There, if I am not mistaken, I *saw*, as we passed by, the clear marks of that violence, by which the people had been expelled. The second, called 'Dawkin's Caymanas,' was under the enlightened attorneyship of Judge Bernard, who with his lady, and the respectable overseer, met us on the spot. On this property the laborers were independent tenants. Their rent was settled, according to the money value of the tenements which they occupied, and they were allowed to take their labor to the best market they could find. As a matter of course, they took it to the *home* market; and excellently were they working on the property of their old master. The attorney, the overseer, and the laborers, all seemed equally satisfied—equally at their ease. Here, then, was one property which would occasion a *bad report* of Jamaica—another which would as surely give rise to a *good report*. As it regards the properties themselves, both reports are true—and they are the respective results of two opposite modes of management.

"At Dawkin's Caymanas, we had the pleasure of witnessing an interesting spectacle; for the laborers on the property, with their wives, sons and daughters, were on that day, met at a picnic dinner. The table, of vast length, was spread under a wattled building erected for the purpose, and at the convenient hour of six in the evening, (after the day's work was finished,) was loaded with all sorts of good fare—soup, fish, fowls, pigs, and joints of meat in abundance. About one hundred and fifty men and women, of the African race, attired with the greatest neatness, were assembled, in much harmony and order, to partake of the feast; but no drink was provided, stronger than water. It was a sober, substantial repast—the festival of peace and freedom. This dinner was to have taken place on New-Year's day; but it so happened, that a Baptist meeting-house in another part of the island, had been destroyed by fire; and at the suggestion of their minister, these honest people agreed to waive their dinner, and to subscribe their money, instead, to the rebuilding of the meeting-house.—For this purpose they raised a noble sum, (I believe considerably upwards of £100 sterling;) and now, in the third month of the year, finding that matters were working well with them, they thought it well to indulge themselves with their social dinner. By a unanimous vote, they commissioned me to present a message of their affectionate regards, to Thomas Clarkson and Thomas Fowell Buxton, the two men to whom, of all others, perhaps, they were the most indebted for their present enjoyment." pp. 91, 92.

"After breakfast we drove to Kelley's, one of Lord Sligo's properties. We saw the people on this property busily engaged in the laborious occupation of holing—a work for which ploughing is now pretty generally substituted, in Jamaica. 'How are you all getting along?' said my companion, to a tall, bright-looking black man, busily engaged with his hoe. 'Right well, massa, right well,' he replied. 'I am from America,' said my friend, 'where there are many slaves: what shall I say to them from you? shall I tell them that freedom is working well here?' 'Yes, massa,' said he 'much well under freedom—thank God for it.' 'Much well' they were indeed doing, for they were earning a dollar for every hundred cane holes—a great effort certainly, but one which many of them accomplished by four o'clock in the afternoon. 'How is this?' asked the same friend, as he felt the lumps or welts on the shoulder of another man.—'O, massa,' cried the negro, 'I was flogged when a slave, no more whip now—all free.'" p. 96.

"The prosperity of the planters in Jamaica, must not be measured by the mere amount of the produce of sugar or coffee, as compared with the time of slavery. Even where produce is diminished, profit will be increased—if freedom be fairly tried—by the saving of expense. 'I had rather make sixty tierces of coffee,' said A. B., 'under freedom, than one hundred and twenty under slavery—such is the saving of expense, that I make a better profit by it—nevertheless, I mean to make one hundred and twenty, as before.'" p. 118.

"'Do you see that excellent new stone wall round the field below us?' said the young physician to me, as we stood at A. B.'s front door, surveying the delightful scenery.—'That wall could scarcely have been built at all, under slavery, or the apprenticeship; the necessary labor could not have been hired at less than £5 currency, or about $13 per chain. Under freedom, it cost only from $3 50 to $4 per chain—not one third of the amount. Still more remarkable is the fact, that the whole of it was built, under the stimulus of job-work, by an invalid negro, who, during slavery, had been given up to a total inaction.' This was the substance of our conversation—the information was afterwards fully confirmed by the proprietor. Such was the fresh blood infused into the veins of this decrepid person, by the genial hand of freedom, that he had been redeemed from absolute uselessness—had executed a noble work—had greatly improved his master's property—and finally, had realized for himself a handsome sum of money. This single fact is admirably and undeniably illustrative of the principles of the case; and, for that purpose, is as good as a thousand." p. 119.

"I will take the present opportunity of offering to thy attention the account of exports from Jamaica, (as exhibited in the return printed for the House of Assembly,) for the last year of the apprenticeship, and the first of full freedom:

	Hhds.
Sugar, for the year ending 9th month, (Sept.) 30, 1838,	53,825
Do. do. do. 1839,	45,359
Apparent diminution,	8,466

"This difference is much less considerable than many persons have been led to imagine; the real diminution, however, is still less; because there has lately taken place in Jamaica, an increase in the size of the hogshead. Instead of the old measure, which contained 17 cwt, new ones have been introduced, containing from 20 to 22 cwt.; a change which, for several reasons, is an economical one for the planter. Allowing only five per cent. for this change, the deficiency is reduced from 8,466 hogsheads, to 5,175; and this amount is further lessened by the fact, that in consequence of freedom, there is a vast addition to the consumption of sugar among the people of Jamaica itself, and therefore to the home sale.

"The account of coffee is not so favorable.

	Cwt.
Coffee, for the year ending 9th month, (Sept.) 30, 1838,	117,313
Do. do. do. 1839.	78,759
Diminution, (about one third)	38,554

"The coffee is a very uncertain crop, and the deficiency, on the comparison of these two years, is not greater, I believe, than has often occurred before. We are also to remember, that both in sugar and coffee, the profit to the planter may be increased by the saving of expense, even when the produce is diminished. Still, it must be allowed that some decrease has taken place, on both the articles, in connection with the change of system. With regard to the year 1840, it is expected that coffee will at least maintain the last amount; but a farther decrease on sugar is generally anticipated.

"Now so far as this decrease of produce is connected with the change of system, it is obviously to be traced to a corresponding decrease in the quantity of labor. But here comes the critical question—the real turning point. To what is this decrease in the quantity of labor owing? I answer deliberately, but without reserve, '*Mainly* to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom.' It is, for the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force the labor of freemen, which have disgusted the peasantry, and have led to the desertion of many of the estates.

"It is a cheering circumstance that the amount of planting and other preparatory labor, bestowed on the estates during the autumn of 1839, has been much greater, by all accounts, than in the autumn of 1838. This is itself the effect of an improved understanding between the planters and the peasants; and the result of it (if other circumstances be equal) cannot fail to be a considerable increase of produce in 1841. I am told, however, that there is one circumstance which may possibly prevent this result, as it regards sugar. It is, that the cultivation of it, under the old system, was forced on certain properties which, from their situation and other circumstances, were wholly unfit for the purpose. These plantations afforded an income to the local agents, but to the proprietors were either unprofitable, or losing, concerns. On such properties, under those new circumstances which bring all things to their true level, the cultivation of sugar must cease.

"In the mean time, the imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; the towns, thriving; new villages rising in every direction; property, much enhanced in value; well-managed estates, productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of labor adopted; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth." p. 132.

"My narrative respecting the British West India Islands being now brought to a close, I will take the liberty of concentrating and recapitulating the principal points of the subject, in a few distinct propositions.

"1st. *The emancipated negroes are working well on the estates of their old masters.*—Nor does Jamaica, when duly inspected and fairly estimated, furnish any exception to the general result. We find that, in that island, wherever the negroes are *fairly, kindly,* and *wisely* treated, there they are working well on the properties of their old masters; and that the existing instances of a contrary description, must be ascribed to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom. Let it not however be imagined, that the negroes, who are not working on the estates of their old masters, are on that account, idle. Even these, are in general, busily employed in cultivating their own grounds, in various descriptions of handicraft, in lime burning or fishing—in benefitting themselves and the community, through some new, but equally desirable medium.—Besides all this, stone walls are built, new houses erected, pastures cleaned, ditches dug, meadows drained, roads made and macadamized, stores fitted up, villages formed, and other beneficial operations effected; the whole of which, before emancipation, it would have been a folly even to attempt. The old notion that the negro is, by constitution, a lazy creature who will do no work at all except by compulsion, is now forever exploded." p. 137.

"2d. An increased quantity of work thrown upon the market, is of course followed by the cheapening of labor." p. 138.

"3d. *Real property has risen, and is rising in value.*—I wish it, however, to be understood, that the comparison is not here made with those olden times of slavery, when the soils of the islands were in their most prolific state, and the slaves themselves, of a corresponding value; but with those days of depression and alarm, which preceded the act of emancipation. All that I mean to assert is, that landed property, in the British colonies, has touched the bottom, has found that bottom solid, has already risen considerably, and is now on a steady ascending march, towards the recovery of its highest value. One circumstance which greatly contributed to produce its depreciation, was the cry of interested persons who wished to run it down; and the demand for it, which has risen among these very persons, is now restoring it to its rightful value. Remember the old gentleman in Antigua, who is always complaining of the effects of freedom, and *always buying land.*" p. 139.

"4th. The personal comforts of the laboring population, under freedom, are multiplied ten fold." p. 140.

"5th. Lastly, the moral and religious improvement of this people, under freedom, is more than equal to the increase of their comforts. Under this head, there are three points, deserving, respectively, of a distinct place in our memories. First, the rapid increase, and vast extent of elementary and Christian education—schools for infants, young persons, and adults, multiplying in every direction. Secondly, the gradual, but decided diminution of crime, amounting, in many country districts, almost to its extinction.—Thirdly, the happy change of the general, and almost universal, practice of concubinage, for the equally general adoption of marriage. 'Concubinage,' says Dr. Stewart in his letter to me, 'the universal practice of the colored people, has wholly disappeared from amongst them. No young woman of color thinks of forming such connections now.' What is more, the improved morality of the blacks, is reflecting itself on the white inhabitants—even the overseers are ceasing, one after another, from a sinful mode of life, and are forming reputable connections in marriage. But while these three points are confessedly of high importance, there is a *fourth* which at once embraces, and outweighs, them all—I mean the diffusion of vital Christianity. I know that great apprehensions were entertained—especially in this country—lest on the cessation of slavery, the negroes should break away at once from their masters, and their ministers. But freedom has come, and while their masters have not been forsaken, their religious teachers have become dearer to them than ever. Under the banner of liberty, the churches and meeting-houses have been enlarged and multiplied, the attendance has become regular and devout, the congregations have, in many cases, been more than doubled—above all, the conversion of souls (as we have reason to believe) has been going on to an extent never before known in these colonies. In a religious point of view, as I have before hinted, the wilderness, in many places, has indeed begun to 'blossom as the rose.' 'Instead of the thorn,' *has* 'come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar,' *has* 'come up the myrtle tree, and it shall be to the Lord for a name—for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.'" p. 141.

I have now given a few extracts from Mr. Gurney's book. They need no comment. Indeed, nothing can be said to convince or move the reader, if these simple records of Emancipation do not find their way to his heart. In the whole history of efforts for human happiness, it is doubtful, if another example can be found of so great a revolution accomplished with so few sacrifices, and such immediate reward. Compare with this the American Revolution, which had for its end to shake off a yoke too light to be named by the side of domestic slavery.—Through what fields of blood and years of suffering, did we seek civil freedom, a boon insignificant in comparison with freedom from an owner's grasp! It is the ordinary law of Providence, that great blessings shall be gained by great sacrifices, and that the most beneficial social changes shall bring immediate suffering. That near a million of human beings should pass in a day from the deepest degradation to the rights of freemen, with so little agitation of the social system, is a fact so strange, that we naturally expect at first some tinging of the picture from the author's sympathies; and we are brought to full conviction only by the simplicity and minuteness of his details. For one, I should have rejoiced in Emancipation as an unspeakable good, had the immediate results worn a much darker hue. I wanted only to know, that social order was preserved, that the laws were respected after Emancipation. I felt, that were anarchy escaped, no evil worse than slavery could take its place. I had not forgotten the doctrine of our fathers, that human freedom was worth vast sacrifices, that it could hardly be bought at too great a price.

I proceed now to offer a few remarks on several topics suggested by Mr. Gurney's book, and I shall close by considering the duties which belong to individuals and to the free States in relation to slavery.

The first topic suggested by our author, and perhaps the most worthy of note, is his anxiety to show that Emancipation has been accompanied with little pecuniary loss, that as a monied speculation it is not to be condemned. He evidently supposes, that he is writing for a people who will judge of this grand event in history by the standard of commercial profit or loss. In this view, his simple book tells more than a thousand satires against the spirit of our times. In speaking of West Indian Emancipation, it has been common for men to say, We must wait for the facts. And what facts have they waited for? They have waited to know, that the master, after fattening many years on oppression, had lost nothing by the triumph of justice and humanity; and that the slave, on being freed, was to yield as large an income as before to his employer. This delicate sensibility to the rights of the wrong doer, this concern for property, this unconcern for human nature, is a sign of the little progress made even here by free principles, and of men's ignorance of the great end of social union.

Every good man must protest against this mode of settling the question of Emancipation. It seems to be taken for granted by not a few, that if, in consequence of this event, the crops have fallen off, or the number of coffee bags or sugar hogsheads is lessened, then Emancipation is to be pronounced a failure, and the great act of freeing a people from the most odious bondage, is to be set down as folly. At the North and the South this base doctrine has seized on the public mind. It runs through our presses, not excepting the more respectable. The bright promises of Emancipation are too unimportant for our newspapers; but the fearful intelligence, that this or that island has shipped fewer hogsheads of sugar than in the days of slavery, is thought worthy to be published far and wide, and Emancipation is a curse, because the civilized world must pay a few cents more to bring tea or coffee to the due degree of sweetness. It passes for an "ultraism" of philanthropy, to prize a million of human beings above as many pounds of sugar.

What is the great end of civilized society? Not coffee and sugar; not the greatest possible amount of mineral, vegetable, or animal productions; but the protection of the rights of its members. The sacrifice of rights, especially of the dearest and most sacred, to increase of property, is one of the most flagrant crimes of the social state. That every man should have his due, not that a few proprietors should riot on the toil, sweat, and blood of the many, this is the great design of the union of men into communities. Emancipation was not meant to increase the crops, but to restore to human beings their birthright, to give to every man the free use of his powers for his own and others' good.

That the production of sugar would be diminished for a time, in consequence of Emancipation, was a thing to be expected if not desired. It is in the sugar culture, that the slaves, in the West Indies have been and are most overworked. In Cuba we are told by men, who have given particular attention to that island, that the mortality on the sugar estates is ten per cent annually, so that a whole gang is used up, swept off in ten years. Suppose Emancipation introduced into Cuba. Would not the production of sugar be diminished? Ought not every man to desire the diminution? I do not say that such atrocious cruelty was common in the British Islands. But it was in this department chiefly, that the slaves were exposed to excessive toil. It was to be expected then, that, when left free, they would prefer other modes of industry. Accordingly whilst the sugar is diminished, the ordinary articles of subsistence have increased. Some of the slaves have become small farmers, and many more, who hire themselves as laborers, cultivate small patches of land on their account. There is another important consideration. Before freedom, the women formed no inconsiderable part of the gangs who labored on the sugar crops. These are now very much if not wholly withdrawn. Is it a grief to a man, who has the spirit of a man, that woman's burdens are made lighter! Other causes of the diminution of the sugar crop may be found in Mr. Gurney's book; but these are enough to show us, that this effect is due in part to the good working of Emancipation, to a relief of the male and female slave, in which we ought to rejoice.

Before Emancipation I expected that the immediate result of the measure would be more or less idleness, consequently a diminution of produce. How natural was it to anticipate, that men who had worked under the lash, and had looked on exemption from toil as the happiness of paradise, should surrender themselves more or less to sloth on becoming their own masters. It is the curse of a bad system to unfit men at first for a better. That the paralyzing effect of slavery should continue after its extinction, that the slave should at the first produce less than before, this surely is no matter of wonder. The wonder is, and it is a great one, that the slaves in the West Indies have, in their new condition, been so greatly influenced by the motives of freemen; that the spirit of industry has so far survived the system of compulsion under which they had been trained; that ideas of a better mode of living have taken so strong a hold on their minds; that so many refined tastes and wants have been so soon developed. Here is the wonder; and all this shows, what we have often heard, that the negro is more susceptible of civilization from abroad than any other race of men. That some, perhaps many of the slaves, have worked too little, is not to be denied, nor can we blame them much for it. All of us, I suspect, under like circumstances would turn our first freedom into a holiday. Besides, when we think, that they have been sweating and bleeding to nourish in all manner of luxury a few indolent proprietors, they do not seem very inexcusable for a short emulation of their superiors. The negro sleeping all day under the shade of the palm tree, ought not to offend our moral sense, much more than the "owner" stretched on his ottoman or sofa. What ought to astonish us is the limitation, not the existence of the evil.

It is to be desired, that those among us, who groan over Emancipation, because the staples of the island are diminished, should be made to wear for a few months the yoke of slavery, so as to judge experimentally whether freedom is worth or not a few hogsheads of sugar. If knowing what this yoke is, they are willing that others should bear it, they deserve themselves above others to be crushed by it. Slavery is the greatest of wrongs, the most intolerable of all the forms of oppression. We of this country thought, that to be robbed of political liberty was an injury not to be endured; and, as a people, were ready to shed our blood like water to avert it. But political liberty is of no worth compared with *personal*; and slavery robs men of the latter. Under the despotisms of modern Europe, the people, though deprived of political freedom, enjoy codes of laws constructed with great care, the fruits of the wisdom of ages, which recognize the sacredness of the rights of person and property, and under which those rights are essentially secure. A subject of these despotisms may still be a man, may better his condition, may enrich his intellect, may fill the earth with his fame. He enjoys essentially *personal* freedom, and through this accomplishes the great ends of his being. To be stripped of this blessing, to be owned by a fellow creature, to hold our limbs and faculties as another's property, to be subject every moment to another's will, to stand in awe of another's lash, to have our whole energies chained to never varying tasks for another's luxury, to hold wife and children at another's pleasure,—what wrong can be compared with this! This is such an insult on human nature, such an impiety towards the common Father, that the whole earth should send up one cry of reprobation against it; and yet we are told, this outrage must continue, lest the market of the civilized world should be deprived of some hogsheads of sugar.

It is hard to weigh human rights against each other; they are all sacred and invaluable. But there is no one which nature, instinct, makes so dear to us as the right of action, of free motion; the right of exerting, and by exertion enlarging our faculties of body and mind; the right of forming plans, of directing our powers according to our convictions of interest and duty; the right of putting forth our energies from a spring in our own breasts. Self-motion, this is what our nature hungers and thirsts for as its true element and life. In truth, every thing that lives, the bird, the insect, craves and delights in freedom of action; and much more must this be the instinct of a rational moral creature of God, who can attain by such freedom alone to the proper strength and enjoyment of his nature. The rights of property and reputation are poor compared with this. Of what worth would be the products of the universe to a man forbidden to use his limbs, or shut up in a prison! To be deprived of that freedom of action which consists with others' freedom; to be forbidden to exert our faculties for our own good; to be cut off from enterprise; to have a narrow circle drawn round us

Cuba who gave particular attention to the subject,* that in the sugar making season, the slaves are generally allowed but four out of the twenty-four hours, for sleep. From these too I learned, that a gang of slaves is used up in ten years. Of the young men imported from Africa, one out of ten dies yearly. To supply this enormous waste of life, above twenty-five thousand slaves are imported from Africa†, in vessels so crowded, that sometimes one quarter, sometimes one half, of the wretched creatures bought in Africa perish in agony before reaching land. It is to be feared, that Cuban slavery, traced from the moment when the African, touches the deck, to the happier moment when he finds his grave on the ocean or the plantation, includes an amount of crime and misery not to be paralleled in any portion of the globe civilized or savage. And there are more reasons than one why I would bring this horrid picture before the minds of my countrymen. We, We, do much to sustain this system of horror and blood. The Cuban slave trade is carried on in vessels built especially for this use in American ports. These vessels often sail under the American flag, and are aided by American merchant-men, and, as is feared, by American capital. And this is not all; the sugar, in producing of which so many of our fellow creatures perish miserably, is shipped in great quantities to this country. We are the customers, who stimulate by our demands this infernal cruelty. And knowing this, shall we become accessories to the murder of our brethren, by continuing to use the fruit of the hard-wrung toil which destroys them? The sugar of Cuba comes to us drenched with human blood. So we ought to see it and to turn from it with loathing. The guilt which produces it, ought to be put down by the spontaneous, instinctive horror of the civilized world.

There is another fact worthy attention. It is said, that most of the plantations in Cuba, which have been recently brought under cultivation, belong to Americans, that the number of American slaveholders is increasing rapidly on the Island, and consequently that the importation of human cargoes from Africa finds much of its encouragement from the citizens of our republic. It is not easy to speak in measured terms of this enormity. For men born and brought up amidst slavery many apologies may be made. But men, born beyond the sound of the lash, brought up where human rights are held sacred, who, in face of all the light thrown now on slavery, can still deal in human flesh, can become customers of the "felon" who tears the African from his native shore, and can with open eyes inflict this deepest wrong for gain and gain alone—such "have no cloak for their sin." Men so hard of heart, so steeled against the reproofs of conscience, so intent on thriving though it be by the most cruel wrongs, are not to be touched by human expostulation and rebuke. But if any should tremble before Almighty justice, ought not *they*?

There is another reason for dwelling on this topic. It teaches us the little reliance to be placed on the impressions respecting slavery brought home by superficial observers We have seen what slavery is in Cuba; and yet men of high character from this country, who have visited that island, have returned to tell us of the mildness of the system. Men, who would cut off their right hand, sooner than withdraw the sympathy of others from human suffering, have virtually done so, by their representation of the kindly working of slavery on the very spot where it exists with peculiar horrors. They have visited some favored plantation, been treated with hospitality, seen no tortures, heard no shrieks, and then come home to reprove those who set forth indignantly the wrongs of the slave. And what is true with regard to the visitors of the West Indies, applies to those who visit our southern states. Having witnessed slavery in the families of some of the most enlightened and refined inhabitants, they return to speak of it as no very fearful thing. Had they inquired about the state of society through the whole country, and learned that more than one fourth of the inhabitants cannot write their own names, they would have forborne to make a few selected families the representative of the community, and might have believed in the possibility of some of the horrid details recorded in "Slavery as it is." For myself, I do not think it worth my while to inquire into the merits of slavery in this or that region. It is enough for me to know, that one human being holds other human beings as his property, subject to his arbitrary and irresponsible will, and compels them to toil for his luxury and ease. I know enough of men, to know what the workings of such a system on a large scale must be; and I hold my understanding insulted when men talk to me of its humanity. If there be one truth of history taught more plainly than any other, it is the tendency of human nature to abuse power. To protect ourselves against power, to keep this in perpetual check by dividing it among many hands, by limiting its duration, by defining its action with sharp lines, by watching it jealously, by holding it responsible for abuses, this is the grand aim and benefit of the social institutions, which are our chief boast. Arbitrary, unchecked power, is the evil against which all experience cries out so loudly, that apologies for it may be dismissed without a hearing. But admit the plea of its apologists. Allow slavery to be ever so humane. Grant that the man who owns me, is ever so kind. The wrong of him who presumes to talk of owning me is too unmeasured to be softened by kindness. There are wrongs which can be redeemed by no kindness. Because a man treads on me with velvet foot, must I be content to grovel in the earth. Because he gives me meat as well as bread, whilst he takes my child and sells it into a land where my chained limbs cannot follow, must I thank him for his kindness? I do not envy those who think slavery no very pitiable lot, provided its nakedness be covered and its hunger regularly appeased.

It is worthy of consideration, that the slave's lot does not improve with the advance of what is called civilization, that is, of trade and luxuries. Slavery is such a violation of nature, that it is an exception to the general law of progress. In rude states of society, when men's wants and employments are few, and trade and other means of gain hardly exist, the slave leads a comparatively easy life; he partakes of the general indolence. He lives in the family much as a member, and is oppressed by no great disparity of rank. But when society advances, and wants multiply, and the lust of gain springs up, and prices increase, the slave's lot grows harder. He is viewed more and more as a machine to be used for profit, and is tasked like the beast of burden. The distance between him and his master increases, and he has less and less of the spirit of a man. He may have better food, but it is that he may work the more. He may be whipped less passionately or frequently; but it is, because the never varying rutine of toil and the more skilful discipline which civilization teaches, have subdued him more completely. Thus to the slave it is no gain that the community grow richer and more luxurious. He has an interest in the return of society to barbarism, for in this case he would come nearer the general level. He would escape the peculiar ignominy and accumulated burdens which he has to bear in civilized life.

3. I pass to another topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book. What is it, let me ask, which has freed the West India slave, and is now raising him to the dignity of a man? The answer is most cheering. The great Emancipator has been Christianity. Policy, interest, state-craft, church-craft, the low motives which have originated other revolutions, have not worked here. From the times of Clarkson and Wilberforce, down to the present day, the friends of the slave, who have pleaded his cause and broken his chains, have been Christians; and it is from Christ the divine philanthropist, from the inspiration of his cross, that they have gathered faith, hope, and love for the conflict. This illustration of the spirit and power of Christianity, is a bright addition to the evidences of its truth. We have here the miracle of a great nation, rising in its strength, not for conquest, not to assert its own rights, but to free and elevate the most despised and injured race on earth; and as this stands alone in human history, so it recalls to us those wonderful works of mercy and power, by which the divinity of our religion was at first confirmed.

It is with deep sorrow that I am compelled to turn to the contrast between religion in England and religion in America. There it vindicates the cause of the oppressed. Here it rivets the chain and hardens the heart of the oppressor At the South, what is the Christian ministry doing for the slave? Teaching the rightfulness of his yoke, joining in the cry against the men who plead for his freedom, giving the sanction of God's name to the greatest offence against his children. This is the saddest view, presented by the conflict with slavery. The very men, whose office it is to plead against all wrong, to enforce the obligation of impartial, inflexible justice, to breathe the spirit of universal brotherly love, to resist at all hazards the spirit and evil customs of the world, to live and to die under the banner of Christian truth, have enlisted under the standard of slavery. Had they merely declined to bring the subject into the Church, on the ground of the presence of the slave, they would have been justified. Had they declined to discuss it through the press and in conversation, on the ground that the pubic mind was too furious to bear the truth, they would have been approved by multitudes; though it is wisest for the minister to resign his office, when it can only be exercised under menace and unrighteous restraint, and to go where with unsealed lips he may teach and enforce human duty in its full extent. But the ministers at the South have not been content with silence. The majority of them are understood to have given their support to slavery, to have thrown their weight into the scale of the master. That in so doing, they have belied their clear convictions, that they have preached known falsehood, we do not say. Few ministers of Christ, we trust, can teach what their deliberate judgments condemn. But in cases like the present, how common is it for the judgment to receive a shape and hue from self-interest, from private affection, from the tyranny of opinion and the passions of the multitude! Few ministers, we trust, can sin against clear, steady light. But how common is it for the mind to waver and to be obscured in regard to scorned and persecuted truth! When we look beyond the bounds of slavery, we find the civilized and christian world with few exceptions reprobating slavery, as at war with the precepts and spirit of Christ. But at the South, his ministers sustain it as consistent with justice, equity, and disinterested love. Can we help saying, that the loud, menacing, popular voice has proved too strong for the servants of Christ?

We hoped better things than this, because the prevalent sects at the South are the Methodists and Baptists, and these were expected to be less tainted by a worldly spirit, than other denominations in which luxury and fashion bear greater sway. But the Methodists, forgetful of their great founder, who cried aloud against slavery and spared not; and the Baptists, forgetful of the samted name of Roger Williams, whose love of the despised Indian, and whose martyr spirit should have taught them fearless sympathy with the negro, have been found in the ranks of the foes of freedom Indeed their allegiance to slavery seems to know no bounds. A Baptist association at the South decreed, that a slave, sold at a distance from his wife, might marry again in obedience to his master; and that he would even do wrong, to disobey in this particular. Thus one of the plainest precepts of Christianity has been set at nought. Thus the poor slave is taught to renounce his wife, however dear, to rupture the most sacred social tie, that, like the other animals, he may keep up the stock of the estate. The general Methodist Conference during this very year, have decreed, that the testimony of a colored member of their churches should not be received against a white member, who may be on trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Thus, in church affairs, a multitude of disciples of Jesus Christ, who have been received into Christian communion on the ground of their spiritual regeneration, who belong, as is believed, to the church on earth and in Heaven, are put down by their brethren as incapable of recognizing the obligation of truth, of performing the most common duty of morality, and are denied a privilege conceded, in worldly affairs, to the most depraved. Thus the religion of the South, heaps insult and injury on the slave.

And what have the Christians of the North done? We rejoice to say, that from these have gone forth not a few testimonies against slavery. Not a few ministers in associations, conventions, presbyteries or conferences, have declared the inconsistency of the system with the principles of Christianity, and with the law of love. Still the churches and congregations of the free States, have in the main looked coldly on the subject, and discouraged too effectually the free expression of thought and feeling in regard to it by the religious teacher. Under that legislation of public opinion, which, without courts or offices, sways more despotically than Czars or Sultans, the pulpit and the press, have, in no small degree, been reduced to silence as to slavery, especially in cities, the chief seats of this invisible power. Some fervent spirits among us, seeing religion, in this and other cases, so ready to bend to worldly opinion, have been filled with indignation. They have spoken of Christianity, as having no life here, as a beautiful corpse, laid out in much state, worshipped with costly homage, but worshipped very much as were the prophets, whose tombs were so ostentatiously garnished in the times of the Savior. But this is unjust. Christianity lives and acts among us. It imposes many salutary restraints. It inspires many good deeds. There are not a few, in whom it puts forth a power, worthy of its better days, and the number of such is growing. Let us not be ungrateful for what this religion is doing, nor shut our ears against the prophecies which the present gives of its future triumphs Still, as a general rule, the Christianity of this day falls fearfully short of the Christianity of the immediate followers of our Lord. Then the meaning of a Christian was, that he took the cross and followed Christ, that he counted not his life dear to him in the service of God and man, that he trod the world under his feet. Now we ask leave of the world, how far we shall follow Christ. What wrong or abuse is there, which the bulk of the people may think essential to their prosperity and may defend with outcry and menace, before which the Christianity of this age will not bow! We need a new John, who, with the untamed and solemn energy of the wilderness, shall cry out among us, Repent. We need that the Crucified should speak to us with a more startling voice, "He that forsaketh not all things, and followeth me, cannot be my disciple." We need that the all-sacrificing, all-sympathising spirit of Christianity, should cease to bow to the spirit of the world. We need that, under a deep sense of want and wo, the church should cry out, "Thy kingdom come, and with holy importunity should bring down new strength, and life, and love from Heaven.

4. I pass to another topic, suggested by Mr. Gurney's book. According to this and all the books written on the subject, emancipation has borne a singular testimony to the noble elements of the negro character. It may be doubted whether any other race would have borne this trial, as well as they. Before the day of freedom came, the West Indies and this country foreboded fearful consequences from the sudden transition of such a multitude from bondage to liberty. Revenge, massacre, unbridled lust, were to usher in the grand festival of emancipation, which was to end in the breaking out of a new Pandemonium on earth. Instead of this, the holy day of liberty was welcomed by shouts and tears of gratitude. The liberated negroes did not hasten as Saxon serfs in like circumstances might have done, to haunts of intoxication, but to the house of God. Their rude churches were thronged. Their joy found utterance in prayers and hymns. History contains no record more touching than the account of the religious, tender thankfulness which this vast boon awakened in the negro breast.—And what followed! Was this beautiful emotion an evanescent transport, soon to give way to ferocity and vengeance! It was natural for masters, who had inflicted causeless stripes, and filled the cup of the slaves with bitterness, to fear their rage after liberation. But the overwhelming joy of freedom having subsided, they returned to labor. Not even a blow was struck in the excitement of that vast change. No violation of the peace required the interposition of the magistrate. The new relation was assumed easily, quietly, without an act of violence; and, since that time, in the short space of two years, how much have they accomplished! Beautiful villages have grown up. Little freeholds have been purchased. The marriage tie has become sacred. The child is educated. Crime has diminished. There are islands, where a greater proportion of the young are trained in schools, than among the whites of the slave States. I ask, whether any other people on the face of the earth, would have received and used the infinite blessing of liberty so well.

The history of West India Emancipation teaches us that we are holding in bondage one of the best races of the human family. The negro is among the mildest, gentlest of men. He is singularly susceptible of improvement from abroad His children, it is said, receive more rapidly than ours, the elements of knowledge. How far he can originate improvements, time only can teach. His nature is affectionate, easily touched; and hence he is more open to religious impressions than the white man. The European race have manifested more courage, enterprise, invention; but in the dispositions which Christianity particularly honors, how inferior are they to the African! When I cast my eyes over our southern region, the land of bowie-knives, lynch law, and duels, of "chivalry," honor, and revenge; and when I consider that Christianity is declared to be a spirit of charity, "which seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil and endureth all things," and is also declared to be, "the wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;" can I hesitate in deciding to which of the races in that land Christianity is most adapted, and in which its noblest disciples are most likely to be reared? It may be said, indeed, of all the European nations, that they are distinguished by qualities opposed to the spirit of Christianity; and it is one of the most remarkable events of history, that the religion of Jesus should have struck root among them. As yet it has not subdued them. The "law of honor," the strongest of all laws in the European race, is, to this day, directly hostile to the character and word of Christ. The African carries within him, much more than we, the germs of a meek, long-suffering, loving virtue. A short residence among the negroes in the West Indies impressed me with their capacity of improvement. On all sides I heard of their religious tendencies, the noblest in human nature. I saw, too, on the plantation where I resided, a gracefulness and dignity of form and motion, rare in my own native New England. And this is the race which has been selected to be trodden down and confounded with the brutes! Undoubtedly the negroes are debased; for were slavery not debasing, I should have little quarrel with it. But let not their degradation be alledged in proof of peculiar incapacity of moral elevation. They are given to theft; but there is no peculiar aggravated guilt, in stealing from those by whom they are robbed of all their rights and their very persons. They are given to falsehood; but this is the very effect produced by oppression on the Irish peasantry. They are undoubtedly sensual; and yet the African countenance seldom shows that coarse, brutal sensuality, which is so common in the face of the white man. I should expect from the African race, if civilized, less energy, less courage, less intellectual originality than in our race, but more amiableness, tranquility, gentleness, and content. They might not rise to an equality in outward condition, but would probably be a much happier race.—There is no reason for holding such a race in chains; they need no chain to make them harmless.*

In the remarks now made, I have aimed only to express my sympathy with the wronged. As to the white population of the South, I have no intention to disparage it I have no undue partiality to the North; for I believe, that were northern men slaveholders, and satisfied that they could grow richer by slave than by free labor, not a few would retain their property in human flesh with as resolute and furious a grasp as their southern brethren. In truth, until the cotton culture had intoxicated the minds of the South with golden dreams, that part of the country seemed less tainted by cupidity than our own. The character of that region is still a mixed one, impulsive, passionate, vindictive, sensual; but frank, courageous, self-relying, enthusiastic, and capable of great sacrifices for a friend. Could the withering influence of slavery be withdrawn, the southern character, though less consistent, less based on principle, would be more attractive and lofty than that of the North. The South is fond of calling itself Anglo-Saxon. Judging from character, I should say that this name belongs much more to the North, the country of steady, persevering, unconquerable energy. Our southern brethren remind me more of the Normans. They seem to have in their veins the burning blood of that pirate race, who spread terror through Europe, who seized part of France as a prey, and then pounced on England; a conquering, chivalrous race, from which most of the nobler families of England are said to be derived. There were certainly noble traits in the Norman character, such as its enthusiasm, its defiance of peril by sea and land, its force of will, its rude sense of honor But the man of Norman spirit, or Norman blood, should never be a slaveholder. He is the last man to profit by this relation. His pride and fierce passions need restraint, not perpetual nourishment; whilst his indisposition to labor, his desire to live by others' toil, demands the stern pressure of necessity to rescue him from dishonorable sloth. Under kindlier influences he may take rank among the noblest of his race.

However, in looking at the South, the first thing which strikes my eyes is not the Anglo-Saxon or the Norman, but the Slave. I overlook the dwellings of the rich. My thoughts go to the comfortless hut of the negro. They go to the dark mass at work in the fields. That injured man is my brother, and ought not my sympathies to gather round him peculiarly? Talk not to me of the hospitality, comforts, luxuries of the planter's mansion. These are all the signs of a mighty wrong. My thoughts turn first to the slave. I would not, however, exaggerate his evils. He is not the most unhappy man on that soil. True, his powers are undeveloped; but therefore he is incapable of the guilt which others incur. He has, as we have seen, a generous nature, and his day of improvement, though long postponed, is to come. When I see by his side (and is the sight very rare!) the self-indulgent man who, from mere love of gain and ease, extorts his sweat, I think of the fearful words which the Savior has put into the lips of the Hebrew patriarch in the unseen world, "Thou in thy life time receivedst thy good things, and Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted and thou art tormented." Distinctions founded on wrong endure but for a day. Could we now penetrate the future world, what startling revelations would be made to us! Before the all-seeing impartial justice of God, we should see every badge of humiliation taken off from the fallen, crushed, and enslaved; and where, where would the selfish, unfeeling oppressor appear!

5. I shall advert but to one more topic suggested by Mr. Gurney's book; I refer to the kind and respectful manner in which he speaks of many slave-holders. He has no sympathy with those, who set down this class of men indiscriminately as the chief of sinners, but speaks with satisfaction of examples of piety and virtue which he found in their number. By some among us this lenity will be ascribed to his desire to win for himself golden opinions; but he deserves no such censure. The opinion of slaveholders is of no moment to him; for he has left them forever, and returns to his own country, where his testimony to their worth will find no sympathy, but expose him to suspicion, perhaps to reproach. Of the justice of his judgment I have no doubt. Among slave-holders there may be and there are good men. But the inferences from this judgment are often false and pernicious. There is a common disposition to connect the character of the slave-holder and the character of slavery. Many at the North, who by intercourse of business or friendship have come to appreciate the good qualities of individuals at the South, are led to the secret if not uttered inference, that a system sustained by such people can be no monstrous thing. They repel indignantly the invectives of the Abolitionists against the master, and by a natural process go on to question or repel their denunciation of slavery. Here lies the secret of much of the want of just feeling in regard to this institution. People become reconciled to it in a measure by the virtues of its supporters. I will not reply to this error by insisting that the virtues, which grow up under slavery, bear a small proportion to the vices which it feeds I take a broader ground. I maintain that we can never argue safely from the character of a man to the system he upholds. It is a solemn truth, not yet understood as it should be, that the worst institutions may be sustained, the worst deeds performed, the most merciless cruelties inflicted by the conscientious and the good. History teaches no truth more awful, and proofs of it crowd on us from the records of the earliest and latest times. Thus, the worship of the immoral deities of heathenism was sustained by the great men of antiquity. The bloodiest and most unrighteous wars have been instigated by patriots. For ages the Jews were thought to have forfeited the rights of men, as much as the African race at the South, and were insulted, spoiled, and slain, not by mobs, but by sovereigns and prelates, who really supposed themselves avengers of the crucified Savior. Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, men of singular humanity, doomed Christians to death, surrendering their better feelings to what they thought the safety of the State. Few names in history are more illustrious than Isabella of Castile. She was the model in most respects of a noble woman. But Isabella' outstripped her age in what she thought pious zeal against heretics. Having taken lessons in her wars against the Moors, and in the extermination of the Jews, she entered fully into the spirit of the inquisition; and by her great moral power contributed more than any other sovereign to the extension of its fearful influence, and thus the horrible tortures and murders of that infernal institution, in her ill-fated country, lie very much at her door. Of all the causes which have contributed to the ruin of Spain, the gloomy, unrelenting spirit of religious bigotry has wrought most deeply; so that the illustrious Isabella, through her zeal for religion and the salvation of her subjects, sowed the seeds of her country's ruin. It is remarkable that Spain, in her late struggle for freedom, has not produced one great man; and at this moment, the country seems threatened with disorganization; and it is to the almost universal corruption, to the want of mutual confidence, to the deep dissimulation and fraud which the spirit of the inquisition, the spirit of misguided religion, has spread through society, that this degradation must chiefly be traced. The wrongs, woes, cruelties inflicted by the religious, the conscientious, are among the most important teachings of the past. Nor has this strange mixture of good and evil ceased. Crimes, to which time and usage have given sanction, are still found in neighborhood with virtue. Examples, taken from other countries, stagger belief, but are true. Thus, in not a few regions, the infant is cast out to perish by parents who abound in tenderness to their surviving children. Our own enormities are to be understood hereafter. Slavery is not then absolved of guilt by the virtue of its supporters, nor are its wrongs on this account a whit less tolerable. The inquisition was not a whit less infernal, because sustained by Isabella. Wars are not a whit less murderous, because waged for our country's glory; nor was the slave trade less a complication of unutterable cruelties, because our fathers brought the African here to make him a Christian.

The great truth, now insisted on, that evil is evil, no matter at whose door it lies, and that men acting from conscience and religion may do nefarious deeds, needs to be better understood, that we may not shelter ourselves or our institutions under the names of the great or the good who have passed away. It shows us, that in good company we may do the work of fiends. It teaches us, how important is the culture of our whole moral and rational nature, how dangerous to rest on the old and the established without habitually and honestly seeking the truth. With these views, I believe at once that slavery is an atrocious wrong, and yet that among its upholders may be found good and pious people. I do not look on a slave country as one of the provinces of Hell. There, as elsewhere, the human spirit may hold communion with God, and it may ascend thence to Heaven Still slavery does not lay aside its horrible nature because of the character of some of its supporters. Persecution is a cruel outrage, no matter by whom carried on, and so slavery, no matter by whom maintained, works fearful evil to bond and free. It breathes a moral taint, contaminates young and old, prostrates the dearest rights, and strengthens the cupidity, pride, love of power, and selfish sloth on which it is founded. I readily grant, that among slaveholders are to be found upright, religious men, and especially pious, gentle, disinterested, noble-minded women, who sincerely labor to be the guardians and benefactors of the slaves, and under whose kind control much comfort may be enjoyed. But we must not on this account shut our eyes on the evils of the institution or forbear to expose them. On the contrary, this is the very reason for lifting up our voices against it; for slavery rests mainly on the virtues of its upholders.—Without the sanction of good and great names, it would soon die. Were it left as a monopoly to the selfish, cruel, unprincipled, it could not stand a year. It would become in men's view as infamous as the slave-trade, and be ranked among felonies. It is a solemn duty to speak plainly of wrongs, which good men perpetrate. It is very easy to cry out against crimes which the laws punish, and which popular opinion has branded with infamy. What is especially demanded of the Christian is, faithful, honest, generous testimony against enormities which are sanctioned by numbers, and fashion, and wealth, and especially by great and honored names, and which, thus sustained, lift up their heads to Heaven, and repay rebuke with menace and indignation.

I know that there are those who consider all acknowledgement of the virtues of slave-holders as treachery to the cause of freedom. But truth is truth, and must always be spoken and trusted. To be just is a greater work than to free slaves or propagate religion, or save souls. I have faith in no policy but that of simplicity and godly sincerity. The crimes of good men in past times, of which I have spoken, have sprung chiefly from the disposition to sacrifice the simple primary obligations of truth, justice and humanity, to some grand cause, such as religion or country, which has dazzled and bewildered their moral sense. To free the slave, let us not wrong his master. Let us rather find comfort in the thought, that there is no unmixed evil, that a spirit of goodness mixes more or less with the worst usages, and that even slavery is illumined by the virtues of the bond and free.

I have now finished my remarks on Mr. Gurney's book, and in doing so I join with my many readers in thanking him for the good news he has reported, and in repeating his prayers for the success of Emancipation. I now proceed to a different order of considerations of great importance, and which ought always to be connected with such discussions as have now engaged us. The subject before us is not one of mere speculation. It has a practical side. There are Duties which belong to us as Individuals, and as Free States, in regard to slavery. To these I now ask attention.

I begin with individuals; and their duty is, to be faithful in their testimony against this great evil, to speak their minds freely and fully, and thus to contribute what they may to the moral power of public opinion. It is not enough to think and feel justly. Sentiments not expressed, slumber and too often die. Utterance in some form or other is a principal duty of a social being. The chief good which an enlightened virtuous mind can do is to bring itself forth. Not a few among us have refrained from this duty, have been speechless in regard to slavery, through disapprobation of what they have called the violence of the Abolitionists. They have said, that in this rage of the elements it was fit to be still. But the storm is passing away. Abolitionists, in obedience to an irresistible law of our nature, has parted with much of its original vehemence. All noble enthusiasm pass through a feverish stage, and grow wiser and more serene. Still more, the power of the Anti-slavery Association is not a little broken by internal divisions, and by its increasing reliance on political action. It has thrown away its true strength, that is, moral influence, in proportion as it has consented to mix in the frays of party. Now then, when associations are waning, it is time for the individual to be heard, time for a free solemn protest against wrong.

It is often said, that all moral efforts to forward the abolition of slavery are futile; that to expect men to sacrifice interest to duty is a proof of insanity; that, as long as slavery is a good pecuniary speculation, the South will stand by it to the death; that whenever slave labor shall prove a drag, it will be abandoned, and not before. It is vain, we are told, to talk, reason, or remonstrate. On this ground some are anxious to bring East India cotton into competition with the Southern, that, by driving the latter from the market, the excessive stimulus to slave breeding and the profits of slave labor may cease. And is this true? Must men be starved into justice and humanity? Have truth, and religion, and conscience no power? One thing we know, that the insanity of opposing moral influence to deep-rooted evils, has at least great names on its side. The Christian faith is the highest form of this madness and folly, and its history shows that "the foolishness of God is stronger than men." What an insult is it on the South and on human nature, to believe, that millions of slaveholders, of all ages, sexes, and conditions, in an age of freedom, intelligence, and Christian faith, are proof against all motives but the very lowest. Even in the most hardened, conscience never turns wholly to stone. Humanity never dies out among a people. After all, the most prevailing voice on earth is that of truth. Could Emancipation be extorted only by depreciation of slave labor, it would indeed be a good; but how much happier a relation would the master establish with the colored race, if from no force but that of principle and kindness he should set them free? Undoubtedly at the South, as elsewhere, the majority are selfish, mercenary, corrupt; but it would be easy to find there more than "ten righteous," to find a multitude of upright, compassionate, devout minds, which, if awakened from the long insensibility of habit to the evils of slavery, would soon overpower the influence of the merely selfish slave-holder.

We are told indeed, by the South, that slavery is no concern of ours, and consequently that the less we say of it the better. What! shall the wrongdoer forbid lookers on to speak, because the affair is a private one, in which others must not interfere? Whoever injures a man binds all men, to remonstrate, especially when the injured is too weak to speak in his own behalf. Let none imagine, that by seizing a fellow-creature and setting him apart as a chattle, they can sever his ties to God or man Spiritual connexions are not so easily broken. You may carry your victim ever so far, you may seclude him on a plantation or in a cell. But you cannot transport him beyond the sphere of human brotherhood, or cut him off from his race. The great bond of humanity is the last to be dssolved Other ties, those of family and civil society, are severed by death. This, founded as it is on what is immortal in our nature, has an everlasting sacredness, and is never broken; and every man has a right and still more is bound to lift up his voice against its violation.

There are many whose testimony against slavery is very much diluted by the fact of its having been so long sanctioned, not only by usage, but by law, by public force, by the forms of civil authority. They bow before numbers and prescription. But in an age of enquiry and innovation, when other institutions must make good their title to continuance, it is a suspicious tenderness, which fears to touch a heavy yoke, because it has grown by time into the necks of our fellow-creatures. Do we not know that unjust monopolies, cruel prejudices, barbarious punishments, oppressive institutions, have been upheld by law for ages? Majorities are prone to think that they can create right by vote, and can legalize gainful crimes by calling the forms of justice to their support. But these conspiracies against humanity, these insults offered to the majesty and immutableness of truth and rectitude, are the last forms of wickedness to be spared. Selfish men, by combining into a majority, cannot change tyranny into right. The whole earth may cry out, that this or that man was made to be owned and used as a chattle or a brute, by his brother. But his birthright as a man, as a rational creature of God, cleaves to him untouched by the clamor. Crimes, exalted into laws, become therefore the more odious, just as the false gods of heathenism, when set up of old on the altar of Jehovah, shocked his true worshippers the more, by usurping so conspicuously the honors due to him alone.

It is important that we should each of us bear our conscientious testimony against slavery, not only to swell that tide of public opinion, which is to sweep it away, but that we may save ourselves from sinking into silent, unsuspected acquiescence in the evil. A constant resistance is needed to this downward tendency, as is proved by the tone of feeling in the free states. What is more common among ourselves, that a courteous, apologetic disapprobation of slavery, which differs little from taking its part This is one of its worst influences. It taints the whole country.—The existence, the perpetual presence of a great, prosperous, unrestrained system of wrong in a community, is one of the sorest trials to the moral sense of the people, and needs to be earnestly withstood. The idea of justice becomes unconsciously obscured in our minds. Our hearts become more or less seared to wrong. The South says, that slavery is nothing to us at the North. But through our trade we are brought into constant contact with it; we grow familiar with it; still more, we thrive by it; and the next step is easy, to consent to the sacrifice of human beings, by whom we prosper. The dead know not their want of life, and so a people, whose moral sentiments are palsied by the interweaving of all their interests with a system of oppression, become degraded without suspecting it. In consequence of this connection with slave countries, the idea of human rights, that great idea of our age, and on which we profess to build our institutions, is darkened, weakened among us, so as to be to many little more than a sound. A country of licensed, legalized wrongs, is not the atmosphere in which the sentiment of reverence for these rights can exist in full power. In such a community, there may be a respect for the arbitrary rights, which law creates and may destroy, and a respect for historical rights, which rest on usage. But the fundamental rights which inhere in man, as man, and which lie at the foundation of a just, equitable, beneficent, noble polity, must be imperfectly comprehended. This depression of moral sentiment in a people is an evil, the extent of which is not easily apprehended. It affects and degrades every relation of life. Men, in whose sight human nature is stripped of all its rights and dignity, cannot love or honor any who possess it, as they ought. In offering these remarks I do not forget what I rejoice to know, that there is much moral feeling among us in regard to slavery. But still there is a strong tendency to indifference, and to something worse; and on this account we owe it to our own moral health, and to the moral life of society, to express plainly and strongly our moral abhorrence of this institution.

This duty is rendered more urgent by the depraving tendency of our political connections and agitations. It has been said much too sweepingly, but with some approximation to truth, that in this country we have hosts of politicians, but no statesmen; meaning by the latter term, men of comprehensive, far-reaching views, who study the permanent good of the community, and hold fast under all changes to the great principles on which its salvation rests. The generality of our public men are mere politicians, purblind to the future, fevered by the present, merging patriotism in party spirit, intent on carrying a vote or election, no matter what means they use or what precedents they establish, and holding themselves absolved from a strict morality in public affairs. A principal object of political tactics is to conciliate and gain over to one or another side the most important interests of the country; and of consequence the slave interest is propitiated with no small care. No party can afford to lose the South. The master's vote is too precious to be hazarded by sympathy with the slave.—Accordingly, parties and office-seekers wash their hands of abolitionism, as if it were treason, and without committing themselves to slavery, protest their innocence of hostility to it. How far they would bow to the slave power, were the success of a great election to depend on soothing it, cannot be foretold, especially since we have seen the party most jealous of popular rights, surrendering to this power the right of petition. In this state of things the slaveholding interest has the floor of Congress very much to itself. Now and then a man of moral heroism meets it with erect front, and a tone of conscious superiority. But political life does not abound in men of heroic mould. Military heroes may be found in swarms. Thousands die fearlessly on the field of battle, or the field of "honor." But the moral courage, which can stand cold looks, frowns, and contempt, asks counsel of higher oracles than people or rulers, and cheerfully gives up preferment to a just cause, is rare enough to be canonized. In such a country the tendency to corruption of moral sentiment in regard to slavery, is strong. Many are tempted to acquiescence in it; and of consequence the good man, the friend of humanity and his country, should meet the danger by strong, uncompromising reprobation of this great wrong.

I would close this topic with observing, that there is one portion of the community, to which I would especially commend the cause of the enslaved, and the duty of open testimony against this form of oppression; and that is, our women. To them, above all others, slavery should seem an intolerable evil, because its chief victims are women.—In their own country, and not very far from them, there are great multitudes of their sex exposed to dishonor, held as property by *man*, unprotected by law, driven to the field by the overseer, and happy if not consigned to infinitely baser uses, denied the rights of wife and mother, and liable to be stript of husband and child when another's pleasure or interest may so determine. Such is the lot of hundreds of thousands of their sisters; and is there nothing here to stir up woman's sympathy, nothing for her to remember when she approaches God's throne or opens her heart to her fellow creatures! Woman should talk of the enslaved to her husband, and do what she can to awaken, amongst his ever thronging worldly cares, some manly indignation, some interest in human freedom. She should breathe into her son a deep sense of the wrongs which man inflicts on man, and send him forth from her arms a friend of the weak and injured. She should look on her daughter, and shudder at the doom of so many daughters on her own shores. When she meets with woman, she should talk with her of the ten thousand homes which have no defence against licentiousness, against violation of the most sacred domestic ties; and through her whole intercourse, the fit season should be chosen to give strength to that deep moral conviction which can alone overcome this tremendous evil.

I know it will be said, that in thus doing, woman will wander beyond her sphere, and forsake her proper work.—What! do I hear such language in a civilized age, and in a land of Christianity? What, let me ask, is woman's work? It is to be a minister of Christian love. It is to sympathize with human misery. It is to breathe sympathy into man's heart. It is to keep alive in society some feeling of human brotherhood. This is her mission on earth. Woman's sphere, I am told, is home. And why is home instituted? Why are domestic relations ordained? These relations are for a day; they cease at the grave. And what is their great end? To nourish a love which will endure forever, to awaken universal sympathy. Our ties to our parents are to bind us to the Universal Parent. Our fraternal bonds to help us to see in all men our brethren. Home is to be a nursery of Christians; and what is the end of Christianity but to awaken in all souls the principles of universal justice and universal charity. At home we are to learn to love our neighbor, our enemy, the stranger, the poor, the oppressed. If home do not train us to this, then it is wofully perverted. If home counteract and quench the spirit of Christianity, then we must remember the Divine Teacher, who commands us to forsake father and mother, brother and sister, wife and child, for His sake, and for the sake of his truth. If the walls of home are the bulwarks of a narrow, clannish love, through which the cry of human miseries and wrongs cannot penetrate, then it is mockery to talk of their sacredness Domestic life is at present too much in hostility to the spirit of Christ. A family should be a community of dear friends, strengthening one another for the service of their fellow creatures. Can we give the name of Christian to most of our families? Can we give it to women who have no thoughts or sympathies for multitudes of their own sex, distant only two or three days' journey from their doors, and exposed to outrages, from which they would pray to have their own daughter snatched, though it were by death.

Having spoken of the individual, I proceed to speak of the duties of the free States, in their political capacity, in regard to slavery; and these may be reduced to two heads, both of them negative. The first is, to abstain as rigidly from the use of political power against slavery in the States where it is established, as from exercising it against slavery in foreign communities. The second is, to free ourselves from all obligation to use the powers of the national or state governments in any manner whatever for the support of slavery.

The first duty is clear. In regard to slavery, the southern States stand on the ground of foreign communities.—They are not subject or responsible to us more than these. No State sovereignty can intermeddle with the institutions of another. We might as legitimately spread our legislation over the schools, churches, or persons of the South, as over their slaves. And in regard to the General Government, we know that it was not intended to confer any power, direct or indirect, on the free, over the slave States.—Any pretension to such power on the part of the North, would have dissolved immediately the convention which framed the Constitution. Any act of the free States, when assembled in Congress, for the abolition of slavery in other States, would be a violation of the national compact, and would be just cause of complaint.

On this account I cannot but regret the disposition of a part of our abolitionists to organize themselves into a political party. Were it indeed their simple purpose to free the North from all obligation to give support to slavery, I should agree with them in their end, though not in their means.—By looking, as they do to political organization, as a means of putting down the institution in other States, they lay themselves open to reproach. I know, indeed, that excellent men are engaged in this movement, and I acquit them of all disposition to transcend the limits of the Federal Constitution. But it is to be feared that they may construe this instrument too literally; that, forgetting its spirit, they may seek to use its powers for purposes very remote from its original design. Their failure is almost inevitable. By extending their agency beyond its true bounds, they insure its defeat in its legitimate sphere. By assuming a political character, they lose the reputation of honest enthusiasts, and come to be considered as hypocritical seekers after place and power. Should they, in opposition to all probability, become a formidable party, they would unite the slaveholding States as one man; and the South, always able, when so united, to link with itself a party at the North, would rule the country as before.

No association, like the abolitionists, formed for a particular end, can, by becoming a political organization, rise to power. It it can contrive to perpetuate itself, it will provoke contempt by the disproportion of its means to its ends; but the probability is, that it will be swallowed up in the whirlpool of one of the other of the great national parties, from whose fury hardly any thing escapes. These mighty forces sweep all lesser political organizations before them. And these are to be robbed of their pernicious power, not by forming a third party, but by the increase of intelligence and virtue in the community, and by the silent flowing together of reflecting, upright, independent men, who will feel themselves

whatever among us is at war with this principle, weakens the living force which holds us together.

On this topic I cannot enlarge. But recent events compel me to refer to one influence more, by which slavery is unfriendly to union. It aggravates those traits of character at the South, which tend to division. It inflames that proud, fiery spirit, which is quick to take offence, and which rushes into rash and reckless courses. This ungoverned violence of feeling breaks out especially in Congress, the centre from which impulses are communicated to the whole people. It is a painful thought, that if any spot in the country is pre-eminent for rudeness and fierceness, it is the Hall of Representatives. Too many of our legislatures seem to lay down at its door the common restraints of good society and the character of gentlemen. The national chamber seems liable to become a national nuisance; and, although all parts of the country are in a measure responsible for this wound inflicted on the honor and union of the country, we do feel, that the evil is to be imputed chiefly to the proud, impetuous temper of the South. It is believed, that the personal violences, which, if repeated, will reduce the national council to the level of a boxing match, may be traced to that part of the country. This evil is too notorious to be softened down by apologies or explanations; nor is it less an evil because precedents and parallels can be found in the legislative bodies of France and England. It tends not merely to spread barbarism through the community, but to impair the authority of legislation, to give new ferocity to the conflicts of party and thus to weaken the national tie.

If slavery, that brand of discord, were taken away, the peculiarities of Northern and Southern character would threaten little or no evil to the Union. On the contrary, these two grand divisions of the country, now estranged from each other, would be brought near, and, by acting on and modifying one another, would produce a national character of the highest order. The South, with more of ardor and of bold and rapid genius, and the North, with more of wisdom and steady principle, furnish admirable materials for a State. Nor is the union of these to a considerable degree impracticable. It is worthy of remark, that the most eminent men at the South have had a large infusion of the Northern character. Washington, in his calm dignity, his rigid order, his close attention to business, his reserve almost approaching coldness, bore a striking affinity to the North; and his sympathies led him to choose Northern men very much as his confidential friends. Mr. Madison had much of the calm wisdom, the patient studious research, the exactness and quiet manner of our part of the country, with little of the imagination and fervor of his own. Chief Justice Marshall had more, than these two great men, of the genial unreserved character of a warmer climate, but so blended with a spirit of moderation, and clear judgment, and serene wisdom, as to make him the delight and confidence of the whole land. There is one other distinguished name of the South, which I have not mentioned, Mr Jefferson; and the reason is, that his character seemed to belong to neither section of the country. He wanted the fiery, daring spirit of the South, and the calm energy of the North. He stood alone. He was a man of genius, given to bold, original, and somewhat visionary speculation, and at the same time, a sagacious observer of men and events. He owed his vast influence, second only to Washington's, to his keen insight into the character of his countrymen, and into the spirit of his age. His opponents have set him down as the most unscrupulous of politicians; but one merit, and no mean one, must be accorded to him, that of having adopted early, and of having held fast through life, the most generous theory of Human Rights, and of having protested against slavery, as an aggravated wrong. In truth, it is impossible to study the great men of the South, and to consider the force of intellect and character which that region has developed, without feelings of respect, and without the most ardent desires that it may free itself by any means from an institution, which aggravates what is evil and threatening in its character, which cripples it of much of its energy, which cuts it off from the sympathies and honor of the civilized world, and which prevents it from a true cordial union with the rest of the country. It is slavery which prevents the two sections of our country from acting on and modifying each other for the good of both. This is the great gulph between us, and constantly growing wider and deeper in proportion to the spread of moral feeling, of Christian philanthropy, of respect for men's rights, of interest in the oppressed.

Why is it, that slavery is not thrown off? We here ascribe its continuance very much to cupidity and love of power. But there is another cause which is certainly disappearing. Slavery at the South continues, in part, in consequence of that want of activity, of steady force, of resolute industry among the free white population, which it has itself produced. A people with force enough to attempt a social revolution, and to bear its first inconveniences, would not endure slavery. We of the North, with our characteristic energy, would hardly tolerate it a year. The sluggishness, stupidity of the slaves would keep us in perpetual irritation. We should run over them, tread them almost unconsciously under foot, in our haste and eagerness to accomplish our enterprizes. We should feel the wastefulness of slave labor in comparison with free. The clumsy mechanic, the lagging house-servant, the slovenly laborer ever ready with a lying excuse, would be too much for our patience. Now there is reason to think, that the stirring, earnest, industrious spirit of the North, is finding its way Southward; and with this, a desire to introduce better social relations can hardly be expressed.

We believe, too, that this revolution would be hastened, if the South would open its ear to the working of Emancipation in other countries, and to the deep interest in the African race which is now spreading through the world. On these subjects very little is yet known at the South. The newspapers there spread absurd rumors of the failure of the experiment of the West Indies, but the truth finds no organs. We doubt, too whether one newspaper has even made a reference to the recent public meeting in England for the civilization of Africa, the most remarkable, in one respect, ever held in that country, for it was a representation of all ranks and sects, including the greatest names in church and state, and what was not less venerable, a multitude of both sexes, who have made themselves dear and honored by services to humanity. Whoever considers this, and other signs of the times in Europe, will see the dawn of a better era, when the wrongs of past ages are to be redressed, when the African is to be lifted up, and the sentence of moral outlawry is to be passed on the enslavers of their brethren. Many among us are apt to smile and say, that nations have but one law, self-interest. But a new and higher force is beginning to act on human affairs. Religion is becoming an active, diffusive, unwearied principle of humanity and justice. All the forces of christianity are concentrating themselves into a fervent, all-comprehending philanthrophy. This is at length to be understood at the South, and it will be felt there. In that region, there are pious men and women who will not endure to be cut of from the religious communion of the world. There are self-respecting men, brave enough to defy all personal danger, but not to defy the moral sentiment of mankind. There are the wise and good, who will rejoice to learn, that Emancipation brings dignity and happiness to the slave, and safety and honor to the free. Here is power enough to put down the selfish and unprincipled. Here are influences, which, joined with favoring events from God's good providence, are, we trust, to remove the wrongs and evils of slavery, and to give us a right to hold up our head among Christian nations.

But if it is not ordained, that, by these and like influences, this great wrong is to be done away, of one thing we are sure, that God's righteous providence lacks not means for accomplishing his designs. He has infinite ministers, for humbling human pride and lifting up the fallen. The solemn lesson of our times is the instability of all human power. Despotic thrones have fallen, and surely private despotism cannot endure. We learn from history, that, in seasons apparently the most inauspicious, the seeds of beneficent revolutions have been sown, and have unfolded in silence. Much more, in these days of change and progress, causes must be at work for the redemption of the slave. Emancipation, universal freedom, must come. May God prepare its way, not by earthquakes and storms, but by "the still small voice" of truth, by breathing into the hearts of this people, the spirit of wisdom, justice and love.

It is a solemn thought, with which I close these remarks, that a people, upholding, or in any way giving countenance to slavery, contract guilt in proportion to the light which is thrown on the injustice and evils of this institution, and to the evidence of the benefits of Emancipation; and of so, then the weight of guilt on this nation is great, and increasing. Our fathers carried on slavery in much blindness. The lived and walked under the shadow of a dark and bloody past. But the darkness is gone. The "mystery of iniquity" is now laid open. Slavery, from its birth to its last stage, is now brought to light. The wars, the sacked and burning villages, the kidnapping and murders of Africa, which begin this horrible history; the crowded hold, the chains, stench, suffocation, burning thirst, and agonies of the slave ship; the loathesome diseases and enormous waste of life in the middle passage; the wrongs and sufferings, of the plantation, with its reign of terror and force, its unbridled lust, its violations of domestic rights and charities—these all are revealed. The crimes and woes of slavery come to us in moans and shrieks from the old world and the new, and from the ocean which divides them; and we are distinctly taught, that in no other calamity are such wrongs and miseries concentrated as in this. To put an end to some of these woes, the most powerful nations have endeavored, by force of laws and punishment, to abolish the slave trade; but the trial proved, that, while slavery endures, the traffic which ministers to it cannot be suppressed. At length the axe has been laid at the root of the accursed tree. By the act of a great nation nearly a million of slaves have been Emancipated; and the first results have exceeded the hopes of philanthropy. All this history of slavery is given to the world. The truth is brought to our very doors. And, still more, to us, above all people, God has made known those eternal principles of freedom, justice, and humanity, by which the full enormity of slavery may be comprehended. To shut our eyes against all this; to shut our ears and hearts against these monitions of God, these pleadings of humanity; to stand forth, in this great conflict of good with evil, as the chief upholding of oppression; to array ourselves against the efforts of the Christian and civilized world for the extinction of this greatest wrong; to perpetuate it with obstinate madness where it exists, and to make new regions of the earth groan under its woes—this, surely, is a guilt which the justice of God cannot wink at, and on which insulted humanity, religion, and freedom call down fearful retribution.

NOTE—page 60.

On this page I have spoken of the manner in which the slaves in the West Indies received Emancipation. This great event took place on the 1st of Aug. 1834. The following account of the manner in which the preceding night was kept, is extracted from Thome and Kimball's book on the subject.

"The Wesleyans kept 'watch night' in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch meeting at the chapel in St. Johns. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy, and as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamation of thanksgiving, and praise, and blessing, and honor, and glory, to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of 12 approached. The missionary then proposed that when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the immense assembly fell prostrate on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude—peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder rolled along the sky—God's pillar of fire, and trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed—then came the burst,—they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, 'Glory,' 'all-luia;' they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings in broken negro dialect, of gratitude to God.

"After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries, explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the free people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws, and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them."

NOTE—page 63.

On reading to a friend my remarks on the African character, he observed to me, that similar views had been taken by Alexander Kinmont, in his "Lectures on Man: Cincinnati, 1839." This induced me to examine the lectures, and I had the satisfaction of finding not only a coincidence of opinions, but that the author had pursued the subject much more thoroughly and illustrated it with much strength and beauty. I would recommend this work to such as delight in bold and original thinking. The reader, indeed, will often question the soundness of the author's conclusions; but even in these cases, the mind will be waked up to great and interesting subjects of reflection. I will subjoin a few extracts relating to the African character.

"When the epoch of the civilization of the Negro family arrives, in the lapse of ages, they will display in their native land some very peculiar and interesting traits of character, of which we, a distinct branch of the human family, can at present form no conception. It will be—indeed it must be—a civilization of a peculiar stamp; perhaps, we might venture to conjecture, not so much distinguished by art as a certain beautiful nature, not so marked or adorned by science, as exalted and refined by a new and lovely tendency a reflection of the light of heaven, more perfect and endearing than that which the intellects of the Caucasian race have ever yet exhibited. There is more of the *child*, of unsophisticated nature, in the Negro race than in the European."—p. 190.

"The peninsula of Africa is the home of the Negro and the appropriate and destined seat of his future glory and civilization—a civilization which we need not fear to predict will be as distinct in all its features from that of all other races, as his complexion and natural temperament and genius are different. But who can doubt that here, also, humanity in its more advanced and millenial stage will reflect, under a sweet and mellow light, the softer attributes of the divine beneficence. If the Caucasian race is destined as would appear from the precocity of their genius and their natural quickness and extreme aptitude to the arts, to reflect the lustre of the divine wisdom, or to speak more properly, the divine science, shall we envy the Negro if a later but far nobler civilization await him,—to return the splendor of the divine attributes of mercy and benevolence in the practice and exhibition of all the milder and gentler virtues?"—p. 191.

"If there are fewer vivid manifestations of intellect in the Negro family than in the Caucasian, as I am disposed to believe, does that forbid the hope of the return of that pure and gentle state of society among them which attracts the peculiar regard of heaven?"—p. 192.

"The sweeter graces of the Christian religion appear almost too tropical and tender plants to grow in the soil of the Caucasian mind; they require a character of human nature, of which you can see the rude lineaments in the Ethiopian, to be implanted in and grow naturally and beautifully withal."—p. 218.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 14, 1841.

James Cannings Fuller.

The writer of the following epistle is a wealthy *Englishman*, resident in New-York. He is of the *denomination* of Friends. He was a member of the London Committee Conference, held last June in place of our "World's Convention." We heard him make a number of short, eccentric speeches, as we sat in the gallery, and were led to think he was a *reformatory* kind of Friend. He seemed a very intelligent man, though not entirely destitute of self-complacency. He returned with us in the Acadia—in the same steamer, but not at the same end. He frequented our end, however, a good deal, when he was able, for sea sickness, and saw how we fared there. He seemed to be very popular on board, although there were a number of the enemies of anti-slavery and tee-totalism at the genteel end of the vessel. By the usages of aquatic society, these could come to us, although we might not go to them. Friend Fuller's *bluntness* seemed to be well understood, as professional; and, at the close of the voyage, he was chosen, with some of the other fashionable passengers, on a committee to procure and present to Captain Miller, the commander, a complimentary present of plate—in token, we suppose, of gratulation, and perhaps gratitude, for the quick and safe passage. By the way, there was no occasion for extraordinary (or even ordinary) skill or care on the part of the captain. The weather was fine all the way, and our good engines, with our faithful engineer and firemen, and the active sailors under the noble boatswain, David Kennody—(by the way, a thoroughgoing tee-totaller,) under the guidance of Providence, sent the Acadia swiftly across the sea. She made the shortest trip, we believe, ever achieved between Liverpool and Boston. Thanks to God, and the faithful navigators of the ship—especially the firemen and steersmen, and among others the Captain, who did, we presume, all that was required of him, which happened to be very little. Still, it was enough, so far as navigating the steamer was concerned. That he should have inquired whether all *his passengers were honorably* treated, we should have supposed proper enough. In his station, we think we should have done it. We think most *American captains* would have done it, if the passengers were *white* and not *active abolitionists*. How brother Garrison and ourself would have fared in such case in second cabin, is problematical.

We mention friend Fuller's appointment, as chairman of the silver-plate committee, not merely to show his good standing and popularity at the "West end" of the ship, but to account for his sensitiveness at our notice of our treatment aboard, and his very singular attack here. We remember further, that after our arrival at Boston, friend Fuller was speaking at an anti-slavery friend's table of his presenting this offering to the captain, when we asked him whether this costly acknowledgment (some $180, we believe,) was made to the captain for the excellence of the engine, the toil and sweat of the firemen, or the good weather we had all the way? Something was said, too, of the languishing state of the anti-slavery treasury, &c., &c. It was a fanatical query, we admit, and the idea of complimenting any body but captains and commanders, *for the merits of those under them*, altogether an unfashionable idea. In justice to friend F.'s *wit*, we ought to add, that he duly replied—"Head a subscription, friend Rogers, and I will put down as high as thou"—another circumstance, to account for our friend's displeasure at our article about appropriating anti-slavery funds to Hiram Wilson's mission. Friend Fuller was agent for Hiram to get money in England, and he collected a good deal, and considerable importance to himself there, in that behalf, last summer. But we give the epistle, which seems to us, on the whole, quite impertinent, and will notice some of its particular parts.

SKANEATELES, 12th mo. 14, 1840.

To the Editor of the National A. S. Standard:

ESTEEMED FRIEND:—For nearly five weeks, my time has been engaged on a visit to the colored people in the province of Upper Canada. On my way home, my attention was drawn, by a mutual friend, to a paragraph in the Standard, and also the Liberator, copied from the Herald of Freedom, and also to an article in the Standard, headed "The British Steerage." Justice appears to me to require a few remarks on both articles, and publicity given them in the columns of the Standard.

There was a time, for the cause's sake, when it was a pleasure, and not less a duty, to exercise the tongue; and as occasion appeared to require, use the pen also (1); but for some time previous, and unceasingly so since returning from my native land, have I felt a great repugnance to the latter, for if I judge right of the anti-slavery press, or that portion of it which comes under my notice, one would almost think its principal aim and object was to wound and kill the present race of anti-slavery editors, and destroy or benumb, rather than foster and encourage "the root of the matter," in the minds of the people. (2) When shall we become, as we were once charged to be, "men of one idea?"—all of one heart and one mind, united together for one common and glorious purpose, "peace on earth and good will to man?" (3)—When will our editors drop their contentions with each other, and seek only to promote the fulfilment of the angelic and heavenly anthem? Yet live in hope that I shall be favored to see the time when there shall be lasting peace in the different tribes of our Israel, when "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." When that time arrives, dost thou believe we shall see *nine columns* of the Friend of Man, or one and a half of the Liberator, each endeavoring to prove its editor had abandoned their former positions? What a delectable treat such dishes must afford to pro-slavery stomachs! I judge it must be so, as it nauseates my own. (4) It may, perhaps, be thought that this communication savors too much of the like, of which the writer himself complains. It may be even so; but I would not take up my pen *now*, did I not perceive, as I conceive, not only a spirit of jealousy, but another spirit at work, detrimental to public enterprise, and individual worth. A spirit of jealousy appears to have commenced, and through the paragraph first alluded to, may disseminate far and wide against what is termed the Canada Mission, a mission of which I dare to say, all who have seen, that no human tongue can pourtray the good effected by it, nor what its ultimate effects may, and I trust will be, on that portion of the family of man, for whose benefit it is, and ought to be vigorously sustained. (5) This is not the time, nor the pages of the Standard, *at present*, a proper place to develop what I have seen, heard, and learned among the "fugitives in Canada," nor is it to unfold what I conceive would be the most productive of good to our fellow men there. (6) Let me say there was a time when no editor of an anti-slavery paper would have attempted to discourage efforts made for the amelioration of the mental or religious condition of the noble self-emancipated men and women in Canada. (7)

I believe no State Society exists, and few or no Conventions held, or county meetings, in which they have not been recognized as objects of the deepest sympathy and concern. I am the more grieved that "sinister" influences should be charged as having been brought to bear on the minds of the *agents* of the Milford society. (8) I believe no such thing as wrong "influences or sinister motives," had operated there, (9) but that the good and true women of that society, seeing, as the editor of the Herald remarks, that "these objects do not come within the scope of the New-Hampshire Society's policy," and the rightfulness, indeed the duty, of assisting the Canada mission, which had been held up to their view, the women of the Milford Society saw they had but one way, and that is the right one. The abstract right is the right in practice with them, and while it affected their judgments as well as their sympathies, it also acted on their purse-strings, to assist in supporting the schools set on foot and conducted by Hiram Wilson and his co-laborers. (10) I would say to the friends of this mission, "withhold not, keep not back," do what requires should be done to sustain it rigorously, and I would that a committee of anti-slavery women could go to Canada (11) and see, not only what has been done, and what is going forward, but what is lacking; and sure am I, were they to set about applying a remedy, which their honest heads and kind hearts would devise. I stake my word for it, they would not let the concern go until what is lacking should be supplied.

It may be, that in a short time, developments on this subject may be made which may apply a remedy, and I assure thee, no "sinister," dishonest motive will influence the discharge of that duty, and as long as occasion shall require it, permit me to intreat, not only women, in and about Milford, but those in New-Hampshire, and anti-slavery men and women on this continent generally, not to withhold their donations for promoting education among the colored fugitives in Canada. Colored, did I say? Why, there are all shades of color that the "human face divine" can show, from the beautiful glossy jet black, to brunette, and aristocrane white or pale face. I have yet to learn that the supporting this mission will induce a backwardness to give, or a niggardliness in giving to the general anti-slavery cause. I think far otherwise, and presume the editor of the Herald does not believe the good women of Concord will feel less interest in promoting the anti-slavery effort, because "they have assumed the responsibility of paying his salary the present year." "Go ahead," you "hear" nobly, and the cause still expects of every woman that she will do her duty. (12)

In my opinion, truth and justice requires some remarks on "The British steerage," and I expect the columns of the Standard will be open for them as they ought to be, as much so for one as another, who makes the "experiment" on the army deep. I consider the strictures on the Acadia and her captain, in most respects, to be overstated, and the implications unwarranted, and therefore uncalled for; as, for instance, "men are treated there like brutes. The poor sailors are treated with no more consideration than dogs. They are spoken to as dogs, and sworn at as dogs, and if they provoke a captain or mate, they are beaten like dogs." "Abolitionists must look into this and into every species of human indignity that prevails. They can't abolish slavery otherwise." I have crossed and re-crossed the Atlantic ocean five times, but my experience does not permit me to give a certificate of the above character in any sailing packet in which I have been a passenger, and I should have thought no man could have so written respecting the "Acadia."(13) It is written, "the price of the first Cabin was 33 guineas." Why was it not said, as it honestly might and with the writer's knowledge; that to all passengers who went to attend the Convention, the owners of the Acadia agreed to take them home for 30 guineas, making an abatement from the usual fare of more than twenty per cent., which they did either on account of the business which led us to visit the British shores, or the total abstinence principles which we held, or both conjointly. Credit to whom credit is due.(14) There seems to be a slap(15) at some person or persons, not perhaps deserving suspicion or reflections, and who would have been as willing to have "experimented with their brethren at the humbler end of the vessel," had there been any sufficient reason for making an "experiment." Of all places under the sun, I confess, on ship board is the last place I desire to conduct either mental or bodily experiments. Why the company of the servants was preferable to that of their masters, is plainly expressed, but it is as incorrect as plain. The reason assigned is, that "their masters and their associates who were making such brutal provision for us."(16) The writer of this sentence knew, or ought to have known, that there is not a little of truth (excuse the plainness of speech) in the remark. The masters of the three servants, nor their associates, had any disposition, or power, to make any provision of any kind, "brutal" or otherwise for the four individuals who chose to go in that part of the ship called the "British Steerage,"(17) and I submit whether steerage passengers have any right to demand, or expect, cabin comforts, or to rail, or excuse those who are cabin passengers of unchristian conduct, in doing that which they did not attempt to do, and had they so done could not have effected their "brutal plottings."(18) The writer flew from a phantom of his own creating, for as to intemperance, (if the means inebriety,) and profanity, which he wished to avoid, it would have well become his pure taste and classic mind to have "experimented" in the cabin, so that both by example and precept he might have joined hands with those who were already there disposed to bear testimony against such things, should they appear "in the higher classes of aquatic society." (19) I urged all three, immediately on leaving port, to abandon their places, and enjoy the comforts of the cabin, with Grosvenor Colver and myself, remarking that their friends who paid their expenses, I was certain, did not wish them to unnecessarily deprive themselves of absolute comforts, or improperly expose or risk their healths; and even if they did, they should remember they had wives and children at home; and as to the saving of eleven guineas a-piece, they would, I apprehend, effect more in value than that trifling sum in discussing anti-slavery and temperance principles. (20) The reflections on the captain show the writer has not "experimented" much on salt water, for had he, he would have known that those in "British steerages," as well as in American, are left by common custom to the supervision of the first mate, and it is to him they have to look for redress of grievances, should any exist. (21.) Before the writer goes to sea again, I would advise him to take some experiments from Cobbett's advice to emigrants. (22.) An object of the writer's remarks appears to be to "represent what truth obliges us to, respecting his ship (the Acadia) to our countrymen." The power, or the abuse of the power of these three is great for good or for evil consequences; each of them would powerful pens, and their writings are justly admired among a large population, in many, if not all the free States, and by the exercise of their presses, probably may dictate whether the "Acadia" shall receive sufficient public support to sustain her on the station, (23) or whether Captain Miller is worthy to continue her commander; but happily, the three do not appear of one mind, or one in practice, as since their safe landing on Columbia's shore, I have not seen such a version in the Liberator; and the two editors, (and as such I esteem them highly for their works' sake,) appeared as loving and united as David and Jonathan, doubtless from the ground they occupied in London. Now for a simple fact, which I dare any one to controvert: there were about 60 cabin passengers in the Acadia, and they were *all* united in expressing to Captain Miller "their acknowledgments for the attention and urbanity they have received from him and those under his command;"—and in parting, at the termination of so pleasant and prosperous a trip, would express the interest they feel in his welfare, and that in his future voyages the same pleasures, accompanied by similar results, may attend him.(24) All united in these sentiments, and a majority of the passengers subscribed for the purchase of something more tangible than expressions, with which was purchased some chaste and elegant, as well as useful plate, which, on behalf of my fellow passengers, it was my satisfaction and pleasure publicly to present to captain Miller.(25) In conclusion I would say, if any anti-slavery or temperance men or women will make an "experiment" to England in a steamer, try the Acadia. If, after trial, they should wish a better vessel, or a more gentlemanly or efficient captain than Edward C. Miller, they must hunt them up for themselves, as they are not known to

JAMES CANNINGS FULLER.

(1) We would ask friend F. quietly, if the cause does not require the exercise of tongue and pen *now*, as much as ever, and whether we are at liberty to toss our heads and quit it, if every thing dont go to suit a genteel taste?

(2) In the mouth of a *professed* new organizationist we should call this *cant*.

(3) We do not hold, that to be of "one heart and mind," we must also become "of one idea" in this enterprise. We apprehend, on the contrary, that becoming "of one idea" will reduce us, instead of to *one heart* and *mind*, to no heart or mind at all. One idea cannot live alone, any more than one coal of fire. It would go out. It is a narrow, cheerless soul, that can entertain but one idea. Ideas, we think, are of social nature, and association of them is essential to the growth and maturity of the individual idea. The man of one idea is apt to come to entertain but a fraction of an idea, or a very shrivelled *ideal integer*.

(4) If the faithful and vigilant labors of the genuine anti-slavery press nauseate friend Fuller's stomach, it is a sign his stomach is foul. There may be a little sectarian *acidity* in it. He had better cleanse it, or it may result in the *bile* of new organization.

(5) The reader may see, on perusal of the article extracted into the Liberator, which we publish to-day, that there is not the slightest ground for our jealous friend's insinuations—not a word being said or intimated against the mission or labors of Wilson, but much to the contrary. We said then, and take occasion to repeat it and more, that the funds of the *anti-slavery society* cannot legitimately be appropriated to aid that mission, or equitably while the anti-slavery cause, to whose aid they are contributed, is staggering every where with debt and embarrassment. It is not strictly an anti-slavery mission. It is a humane mission, and philanthropy ought to patronize it; but anti-slavery societies cannot, any more than temperance societies, divert their funds to its aid. They were not contributed for that, and the mere fact that the colonists were *once slaves* does not make it an anti-slavery colony. We have personally aided fugitive slaves, and mean to more on occasion—but not *as an abolitionist*, nor with *anti-slavery society* funds. A disposition among some of our professed abolitionists to discountenance our anti-slavery movement, has led them to divert anti-slavery funds to this mission. They did not want anti-slavery aided, and they did not know of any pretext but this for diverting funds, and so they sent them to Hiram Wilson. This was the case at Milford, N. H., and was the occasion of our remarks.

(6) We should give our readers friend Fuller's statistics, although they might come under the head of "foreign intelligence," if he should send them to us; but any threatened withholding of them will not agitate us.

(7) We charge friend Fuller with unfairness for insinuating here that the Herald of Freedom, or its editor, ever made any such attempt. Nothing but a too great sensitiveness to the *honor of the Canada agency*, would have misled our sensible friend so to understand our article. We ask him to put his finger on any thing we have ever said, in any editorial capacity, to warrant this insinuation.

(8) We do not see friend Fuller's *authority* to *grieve* in this behalf. The sinister influence we spoke of in the Herald of Freedom, was a certain new organization influence in New Hampshire. Has that influence ever given power of attorney to our Skaneateles friend to grieve in its behalf?

(9) We have *good information* that such influence *has* operated there.

(10) Which, *as a society*, we repeat, they had neither right nor power to do.

(11) They might as legitimately be sent to the Sandwich Islands, or to any other missionary station on earth. Individually, we hope every woman will favor Hiram Wilson's school and mission. But we hope friend Fuller will not prevail on all or any of the abolitionists of New Hampshire to mistake that mission for the anti-slavery cause. The purpose of that cause is the rescue of the wretched slaves, who have not been able to become fugitive—but who remain in the pit of slavery, and must till we overthrow the system, when the Canadian colony would be glad to return to the South again.

(12) Does friend Fuller rank schooling the Canadians and editing an anti-slavery paper, in the same class as abolition measures? or does he allude to this heroic adventure of the anti-slavery women of Concord, by way of "sly" taunt at us? Does the Friend think it would be well for a majority of the Concord Female Anti-Slavery Society to take money [illegible] of their little treasury, contributed for the salary of the editor of the Herald of Freedom, and send it to sustain Hiram Wilson's mission in Canada? They might with the same propriety that the Milford money was sent there.

(13) If our friend of the plate-presenting Committee will read again, he will see that we said nothing about the treatment of the sailors in the Acadia. If he had quoted properly his quotation would have shown that our remark was *general*, and not intended for the Acadia—as it really was not. Perhaps we should have *expressly* excluded her. But we were not thinking of her when we made the remarks. Our first remark, after saying that "anti-slavery has no *steerage*—no '*nigger pew*'—no *Liberia*, and it will tolerate none in the world," was this—"There is much, by the way, of abominable tyranny practiced *on ship board*. We mean to expose it," &c. The remark is manifestly a *general* one. If we ought to expressly exempt the Acadia, we will do it here. We really think her sailors were treated remarkably well. The engine men, of course, would not bear ill treatment—to say nothing of the fact that the Acadia's crew were *Scotsmen*, and of the temper of their national *thistle*. But the managers of the sails were remarkably, we should judge, well treated. We dont believe *they* would patiently bear any other treatment. Bo'swain David Kennedy, we know, would not. No captain or captain's mate would strike him twice. We were in the foreship among the sailors all the way, and we did not see any thing that looked like *ill treatment*. To be sure, we saw the first mate, an *English* gentleman, strike two young men on the side of the head, with a moderate *damn* or two, in presence of the company about; but it was because they had not started at the word, or were lingering to hear talk, or some such offence, (though there was no *special* call for haste.) Aside from this, (and he did not knock them down, or appear to hurt them very severely)—we did not see any thing of the kind, during the *whole* twelve and a half days of the passage! If the mate had *cuffed* James Cannings Fuller, however, in this style, we should have felt the utmost astonishment and indignation. But it was only two youths with bonnets on,—the blue bonnet of Scotland,—without any of the outer dignity of circumstance involved in wealth, standing, or passengership—"a man's a man for a' that," as a north-*Briton* poet said. But we still did not think of these *moderate* blows, when we remarked as we did on the *usage* of sailors. We did not think of the Acadia at all. Friend Fuller has crossed the ocean five times, he says. Now we ask him to say whether, with the *exception of the Acadia*, he ever saw a crew of sailors treated as *men*? Did he ever see a sailor who was not a subject of absolute power and boundless caprice, with only the poor scurvy chance of redress by a law-suit, should he live to get ashore, or by insurrection on the sea? Is not every sailor, by common consent, a subject of discretionary power? Is not the captain's *word his law*, and the rope's-end the sanction, and has the system not sunk the sailor below humanity's level, in the estimation of the world, and cast him out of the pale of human society? We say YES—and if it offends friend Fuller's "stomach," we are sorry—not for our remarks, but the tone of his Quakerism. We don't believe it would have offended friend Fox.

(14) We were not *giving credit* or withholding it, as the reader may see. We took our passage at Glasgow by way of a friend there, and from intelligence gained of first and second cabins at London, from the agent, and the plan of the steamers. Friend Fuller's intimation of our withholding facts or denying credit to the Acadia for remitting passage money to the total abstinence passengers, is *impertinent*, and we shall not further notice it.

(15) Friend Fuller is over-jealous, and quite gratuitous.

(16) On inspecting our article, we find a *comma*, which, by grammatical construction, against all possibility of our meaning, connects masters and associates together. We intended to say we had no objection to the company of servants because they were servants, and that judging from the character of *masters*, generally, (we know nothing of these) we should prefer the company of servants. The associates, who made, as we supposed, or controlled our provision, were the captain and such other of the *officers* as associated with those masters. Friend F. could hardly suppose we thought the cabin passengers had any hand in regulating our *fodder*, or navigating the ship. We think a *comma* should not have led our jealous friend to such a suspicion. But *commas* "light as air, are to the jealous, confirmation strong, &c." We assure friend F. we did not mean to implicate the masters of our servant fellow passengers in the provision (or want of it) made for us—nor any of their passenger associates, but only the controllers of the ship. We will say here that it would have been natural enough for friend Fuller to have said to his associate, the captain, "Friend Miller, there are passengers in the fore end of thy ship who are very basely used. They have not human treatment. Some of them do not deserve it—indeed none of them do—but there is gross indecency in treating such men as the Reverend Elan Galusha, son of a chief magistrate of Vermont, and himself a highly respectable clergyman, in the way I *know* they are treated; for I have been there. It will mar the credit of thy vessel, friend Miller. The men are passengers. They don't want the luxuries of the cabin, but they ought to be treated in some sort as passengers. They should have an apartment to eat in, and a table to set at, and decent and sufficient provision." Friend F. knows we were treated brutally and infamously. He knew it on the way. Yet he presented the captain a costly token of his entire approbation, because the engineers and engine worked well, and Heaven gave us fair weather and smooth sea. If the captain is not to know any thing of the condition of the passengers, or, if knowing it, can't control it, or in any way remedy such abuses, we have mistaken his power. If the head steward had sent sea water into *his* berth to wash his *face* in, when the first cabin passengers had *fresh water to wash their feet in*,—or had hung him up a wet sheet from some hammock, in place of a towel, we apprehend it would have roused his royal navy blood, and he would have endeavored to *control the arrangements*, and friend Fuller would have volunteered to lend the steward his *blunt* admonitions in the captain's behalf. But we did not ask the Friend's interposition. We ought to have sent the captain the note we spoke of, and if he had not caused us to be duly treated, to have shown him up forthwith, to our anti-slavery readers at least, as soon as we touched our shores. We were in fault that we did not. But this is not what friend Fuller charges us with.

(17) Of course, they had not. It needs no ghost from the grave, or Friend from Skaneateles, to tell us that. If friend F. finds fault with our calling our post the "British steerage," he must not complain if we demand in it something of the treatment due to *passengers—in the second cabin*. We had not a table to eat at—nothing but a temporary board seat to sit on—in fact no provision whatever had been made for such passengers, except a place to lodge in, and the sailors were turned *into that, to gnaw their bones and devour their mess*—and yet we were ticketed as passengers in the second cabin, at $100. Why we took passage in the second cabin instead of the first, friend F. will not expect us to account to him. It is sufficient that we chose to take it, and that instead of receiving the treatment we had right to, we were treated as no human being on board should have been, sailor or other, unless he demanded expressly the usage of a brute.

(18) We are making too much of this affair—but really friend Fuller interprets us strangely. We did not charge the passengers of the Acadia with intemperance. We were giving our reasons for taking second cabin instead of first. We had not seen the Acadia, nor heard of her passengers. She lay, as we supposed, at Liverpool. We were at Glasgow. But we had had a little experience of first cabin temperance on our passage out to England. It influenced us a little in not choosing the good society cabin on our return.

(20) We do not know what occasion friend Fuller has to advert to his advice to us on board the Acadia. Our readers can take no possible interest in it. If, in addition to advising us to go into the after cabin, friend F. had advised the captain of our treatment in the *fore-cabin*, (if gangway can be called cabin,) and advised him also to look a little into it for the credit of his ship, he would have done him better service than he did when he paraded that fashionable present to him for the good passage we had, and which, in our belief, was in no respect attributable to any extraordinary exertions of the captain.

(21) No mate, with the spirit of a man, would see people on board his ship treated as we were. And any application to such a mate for redress would be a little worse than idle. This mate must have seen the Reverend Mr. Galusha eating his convict meal in the gangway. We wish friend Fuller could have seen brother Galusha, with his tall, ecclesiastical form, get down on to the floor to crawl under his crib to his hungry position at the board. It was laughable, in spite of all the exasperating circumstances. We had to perform the same diving process ourselves to the astonishment of our *steward*, and the amusement of a graceless boy, that waited on the subaltern officers and helped us devour our fodder.

(22) Before friend Fuller reviews us again, we would advise him to take lessons in *accuracy*.

(23) We wish the Acadia all prosperity in her trips. She is a glorious vessel. She copes wind and wave with her forty-five hundred horse power, to admiration. Fulton is said to have bored the incredulity of some British nobleman at a dinner in Paris, by *assuming* that, with patronage enough, he would make steam walk up the North River at the rate of four miles an hour. What would his lordship have thought of a prediction of walking across the Atlantic, in August, 1840, in twelve days and a half! We wish all luck to the gallant steamer, and her gallant bremen and engineers,—her stately carpenter, and her noble bo's'n. We remember them well. The mate we did not fancy. As for the captain, we hardly saw him out of the cabin. We would have joined friend Fuller in a compliment to *David Kennedy*, the stout, tee-total boatswain, or the meritorious firemen, or even to the captain, if he had especially deserved it. We could not learn that he did. But we warn all men to beware of the second cabin of the Acadia, unless they are livery servants, and are put there by their masters.

(24) All this is very fine, and friend Fuller no doubt performed the dignified part assigned him, in presenting the plate with distinguished grace. But all that don't alter or excuse the fact, that, all the way over, four of us, who had purchased berths in the second cabin, and paid $100 each for them, were treated with the grossest indecency. The editor of the

From the Token.

The Condor of the Andes.

BY THOMAS FISHER, OF PHILADELPHIA.

The following stanzas were suggested by a visit to a Condor,* taken a year or two since by an adventurous hunter from its nest on the Andes, and exhibited in the United States.

Where Winter o'er the blazing zones,
Has telegraphed his polar thrones—
Where the Cordilleras' glacier height
Reflects Aurora's earliest light,
I breathed the pure empyrean air,
That swept around my birthplace there.

Above me was the dark blue sky,
Nature's etherial canopy;
Beneath me the eternal snow,
Whence Amazon's far streamlets flow;
Below the summit of my birth,
Far spread see fairest climes of earth—
In boundlessness, that might defy
Aught but a falcon's subtle eye.

Thence—sternly from his home on high,
Monarch of all the tribes that fly,
Unrivalled o'er a wide domain
Of glaciers, forests, and of plain,
My parent wheeled his cloud-like form,
Like some wild fragment of a storm,
O'er blooming earth and glowing skies,
Where Nature blends her loveliest dies,
To where, on either hand, the sea
Mirrored his peerless majesty—

Or stooping to the fields of earth,
Like being of celestial birth,
Bore tribute from the herd or flock
To Chimborazo's dizzy height,
Where his own eyrie beaconed rock,
Was red in evening's lingering light,

Ere yet my bursting plumes had grown,
Or heaven's wide concave was my own,
Struggling to rise above the rest,
My sportive brothers of the nest,
That I might feast my wayward eye,
Where earth seemed mingling with the sky—
I oft could mark the battle train,
Far gleaming on the distant plain;
Or when at eve we could descry
Pale Vesper in the further sky,
We knew Iberia's watchfire's glare
Illumined the far horizon there—

Until the beauteous Queen of Night
Announced her rising hour again,
Lovely, as when the orient streaks
That endless chain of icy peaks,
And wakes the mountain-bird—
On our own heaven-peering height,
And o'er the world of glaciers, fell
A mild unearthly blaze of light—
I saw with transports of delight,
I felt—but may not tell.

A hunter scaled the glacier's brow,
And I 'm a hapless captive now—
Cruel, to bear me thus away
From my own regions of the day!
My sires had nestled and had flown
Upon that lonely, loftiest height,
And all beyond had been their own,
Since first creative Nature hurled
The lurking nucleus of the world—
There transient ages shed their snows—

And there the beam etherial flows
In all the changes that it knows,
Untarnished by the mists of earth,
Brighter than when the Iris glows,
Or gems of caverned birth.

Ah! yes—in those heaven-lit skies,
Wide circling round that crystal height,
E'en now my parent proudly flies,
Exulting in the day-star's light.

Ah! would that they had let me fly,
To hover o'er my country's hosts,
And scream the trump of victory!
For now Hispania's flag is furled
Forever in the Western world.
Morillo's sought his native shore,
To know Ulloa's towers no more.

* The extent of the full grown bird is sixteen feet.
WILSON.

My Native Land.

KOERNER.

Where is the poet's native land?
Where noble streams of genius flow,
Where lovely wreaths for beauty blow,
Where manly hearts with passion glow
For all that's holy, fair, and grand:
There is my native land.

How named the poet's native land?
Now, all her noble spirit broke,
She pines beneath a foreign yoke;
Once she was named LAND OF THE OAK,
THE LAND OF FREEDOM—GERMAN LAND!—
So named my native land.

Why weeps the poet's native land?
That to the tyrant's stern decree
Her princes bow the suppliant knee,
And none proclaim their country free,
Or dare to join her patriot band:—
This weeps my native land.

Whom calls the poet's native land?
She calls on powers that slight her prayer,
With thunder-words of dark despair
For freedom—for a Saviour's care,
For the avenger's righteous hand!—
This calls my native land.

What would the poet's native land?
She would beat down the usurping race,
The blood-hound from her border chase,
Her free-born sons with freedom grace,
Or free the buried in the sand:—
This would my native land.

And hopes the poet's native land?
She hopes, for sacred justice' sake,
She hopes, her sons will yet awake,
She hopes, that God her chains will break,
To see outstretched the avenging hand!—
This hopes my native land.

Desire of objects increased by the loss of them.

——————For it so falls out
That what we have, we price not to the worth
While we enjoy it, but being lack'd and lost,
Why, then we rack the value—then we find
The virtue that possession would not show us
While it was ours. GOLDSMITH.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Of the Sentiment Men ought to Inspire.

THERE is no such being as a misanthrope. The men designated by this name, may be divided into many classes. In one class I see men of philosophic minds, revolted by our vices, or shocked by our contradictions, who censure these universal traits with a blunt frankness. Their disgust springs from the evils, which the universal follies of the age have shed upon our career. But if they really hated men, would they wield the pen of satire, in striving to correct them?

Another class consists of those unfortunate beings, who hope to find peace only in solitude. They fly a world which has pierced their heart with cruel wounds; and perhaps avow, in words, an implacable hatred towards men. But their sensibilities belies their avowal; and we soothe their griefs, as soon as we ask their service. Finally, there are those who strive only to render themselves singular, who are really less afflicted, than whimsical; rather officious than observing. These would tire us with the avowal of their love of mankind, if they did not deem that they render themselves more piquant and original by declaring that they hate them.

We may excuse indignation toward prejudices, contradictions and vices. But how can man have merited hatred or contempt? Man is good. Such is his primitive character, which he can never entirely efface. Good but seduced, erring and unhappy, he has claims upon our most tender interest.

I do not propose to vex the question whether man is born good? I consider him to be born without either virtue or vice. But as he advances in life, nature arranges every thing around him in such a manner, as ought to render him good. A mother is the first object that offers to his view. The first words which he hears express the tenderest affection. Caresses inspire his first sentiments; and his first occupations are sports.

Too soon, it is true, very different objects surround him. As he grows into life, he is struck with such a general spectacle of injustice, as reverses his ideas, and sours his character. But, although the contagion reaches him, and the passions and prejudices degrade him, some traits of his primitive goodness will always remain in his heart.

Even those terrible enthusiasts, who thrust themselves forward in the effervescence of party, who, to give triumph to their cause, blow up the incipient flame of civil discord, and with an unshrinking hand raise the sword of proscription, these fanatics may be strangers to every humane sentiment. Yet many of them are seen to love their wives and children with tenderness, and to preserve in the bosom of their family, so to speak, the germs of innocence. Robbers, the horror of society, whom the gibbet claims, honor themselves with some acts of humanity; and tyrants have their days of clemency.

During great calamities, natural sentiments develope themselves, and form a touching contrast with the scenes of horror with which they are surrounded. When a destructive conflagration is sweeping along a city, there are no distinctions, no animosities among the wretched sufferers, whom the same terror pursues. Enemies forget their hatred, and partisans their parties. The rich and poor cry out together. All love and aid each other. Misfortune has broken down the separating barriers of pride and prejudice, and they find each other good and equal.

Even upon the theatre of war, where the spectacle of destruction excites an appetite to destroy, we often discover affecting traces of humanity. At the siege of Mentz, in 1795, I remember that the advanced guards of the attack on the left, occupied an English garden, near the village of Montback. The garden was completely destroyed. The walks and labyrinths were changed, by the trampling of the soldiers, into high roads. Batteries, were raised upon the mounds, from distance to distance, around which still grew rare trees, and shrubs. The French bivouacs banished the verdure of the bowling greens, and in advance of them, a half overturned kiosk served for the post guard of the Austrians. The nearest water was on their side; the nearest wood on the side of the French. To obtain the water, the French threw their canteens to the Austrains, who filled them and sent them back again. When night drew on, the French soldiers, in return, cut wood for the Austrians, and dragged fagots between the videttes of the two armies. Thus, waiting the signal to cut each other's throat, the advance guards lived in peace, and made exchanges like those between friendly people. This spectacle excited in me a profound emotion; and I was scarcely able to refrain from tears, in seeing men, so situated, still good, on a soil red with blood.

This primitive goodness is not the only bautiful trait which is continually developing to our view in human nature. For men to be generous, and magnanimous, the soul never entirely loses the elevation, which it received from its author.

Under oppression, in degradation, in slavery, men still preserve some impress of their first dignity. Those outrages which inflict personal humiliation, are among the most frequent causes of revolutions; and, perhaps tyrants incur less danger in shedding the blood of citizens than in insulting them. An outrage upon a woman was the signal of the liberty of Rome. A similar crime drew on the fall of the Pisistrati, who had found no obstacle in overturning the laws of their country. The Swiss and Danes supported the rigors of a tyrannic yoke in silence. They arose the first day in which their oppressors exacted of them an act of degradation. Genoa had been conquered. An Austrian officer struck a man of the lower class. The indignant Genoese flew to arms, and drove away their conquerors.

Under the most absolute despotism, we sometimes see the subjects preserving magnanimous sentiments and not being able to give them a useful direction, put forth, to serve their masters, a courage equal to that with which free citizens honor themselves in serving their country. Of this I might cite striking proofs from the history of even barbarous nations.

A convincing demonstration, that an innate principle of elevation exists in the soul, results from the universality of religious ideas. Man is discouraged by his errors, his infirmities and faults in vain. An interior voice admonishes him of his high destination. Transient as he is, and comparatively lost in the immensity of the universe, he invokes the Divinity to sanctity the union of his espousals, and to preside over the birth of his infants. He raises his voice to him over the tombs of his fathers. When the contemplation of the works of the Eternal has inspired him with humble sentiments of himself, he still deems himself superior to all the beings that surround him. Occupying but a point on the globe, his disquieting thoughts embrace the universe. He beholds time devouring the objects of his affections, crumbling monuments and overturning even the works of nature. From the midst of the ruins he aspires to immortality.

What would not these sentiments, at once elevated and good, these precious germs produce, were they developed by happy circumstances! That they exist in the human bosom is a sufficient indication that we owe a tender interest to the being who possesses them. Let us love our kind, and cultivate the virtues which render us worthy of their affection.—*Droz.*

GLORY—MILITARY.—Sharing with plague, pestilence, and famine, the honor of destroying your species; and participating with Alexander's horse the distinction of transmitting your name to posterity.

Influence of Parents on the Health of Children.

The influence of original constitution on the qualities and health of the progeny, is remarkably shown in the families of some of the reigning princes of Europe, and of our own aristocracy; and is exemplified in the histories of long-lived persons, almost all of whom are found to have been descended from long-lived ancestors; indeed, nothing is more certain than that, other circumstances being favorable, robust and healthy parents have robust and healthy children. The same law, indeed, holds good throughout animated nature. In the vegetable world, for example quite as much importance is attached to the quality of the seed as to a good soil and good cultivation, and the highest prices are offered to obtain it. Among the lower animals the same principle equally operates. The genealogy of the racehorse, of the hunter, or even of the farmhorse, is looked upon as a sure criterion of the qualities which may be expected in its progeny. In the dog, the sheep, and the different varieties of cattle, also we calculate, with perfect certainty, on the reappearance of the qualities of the parents in their young. Man himself, as an organized being, constitutes no exception to the general law, and it is a false and injurious delicacy which would try to divert attention from a truth so influential on happiness, and which has long forced itself upon the notice of physiologists and physicians. In alluding to this subject, the great Haller mentions, that he knew "a very remarkable instance of two noble ladies, who got husbands on account of their wealth, although they were nearly idiots, and from whom this mental defect has extended for a century into several families, so that some of all their descendants still continue idiots in the fourth, and even in the fifth generation."* The late Dr Gregory also graphically describes the same influence of the parental stock, when he says, "Parents frequently live over again in their offspring; for children certainly resemble their parents, not merely in countenance and bodily conformation, but in the general features of their minds, and in both virtues and vices. Thus the imperious Claudian family long flourished at Rome; unrelenting, cruel, and despotic; it produced the merciless and detestable tyrant Tiberius, and at length ended, after a course of six hundred years, in the bloody Caligula, Claudius, and Agrippina, and then in the monster Nero."* Facts of a similar description might easily be multiplied; but as their counterparts may be observed in a more or less marked degree in ordinary society, it is needless to adduce them.

We are perfectly warranted, then, both by experience and reason, in maintaining that the possession on the part of the parents of a sound and vigorous bodily constitution, and an active well-balanced mind, exerts an important influence in securing similar advantages for the offspring. If parent inherits the feeble delicacy or mental peculiarities of an unhealthy or eccentric race, the chances are, as we have already seen, very great, that the offspring will be characterised by precisely similar tendencies. But, in compensation for this, the very same law by which the liability to gout, insanity, and consumption is transmitted from generation to generation, enables us to reckon with equal certainty on the transmission of health and vigor, wherever these have been the hereditary features of the race.

* Eem. Physiol., lib. xxix., sect. 2. 8.
* Conspectus Medic. Theor., cap. 1, sect. 16.

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.—Mr. Buxton has recently been made a baronet. If a long and arduous struggle in the cause of human freedom while a member of the House of Commons, and great purity of character, coupled with commanding talents, entitle one to this distinction at the hands of Her Majesty, then has the title been worthily bestowed on this eminent philosopher.

An anecdote was related to me yesterday concerning this gentleman and Lord Brougham, which I cannot forbear repeating. In the year 1824, when Buxton and Brougham were both in the Commons, some petitions were confided to them for the abolition of slavery in the British West India Colonies. On consultation, they agreed to submit a motion, founded on the memorials, for the amelioration of slavery in the Colonies. Buxton was to make the motion and Brougham to support him. Due notice was given, and the West India interest was on the *qui vive* of opposition. A tempest was anticipated. Buxton was apprehensive he should be unceremoniously coughed and scraped down. The day came. Just as Buxton was about to lift his majestic form—he is six feet six inches high—Brougham whispered to him "I will cheer *you* while you are speaking, and you must do the same for *me*." "Agreed!" responded the agitated brewer, as he rose and commenced speaking amidst evident signs of impatience on the part of many Commoners. A storm was brewing; but Brougham cried, "Hear! Hear!! Hear!!! with all his might; and clapped and stamped so lustily that the House was struck with amazement, thought that he was actually crazy, and permitted Buxton to conclude his speech without much interruption. Mr. Canning, the Minister, rose immediately, and made one of his adroit, elegant and gentlemanly replies, which was loudly cheered from all parts of the House. In an instant Brougham was on his feet, his eyes flashing fire, and his hair erect with excitement. Members cried, "Divide! Divide!!" in stentorian tones. "Harry the Commoner" stood unmoved as a rock. When silence was restored, he went forward, kindling with his mighty theme, rolling out splendid thoughts, magnificent conceptions, and glowing illustrations, which held the House in awe. The shouts of "Hear! Hear!! Hear!!!" from Buxton, as his peerless colleague brought out into strong light the dark facts of his subject, and his hearty cheers as he marshalled paragraph after paragraph of matchless eloquence in the field, soon become contagious, and at the close of his speech Brougham sat down amid thunders of applause.—*N. Y. American.*

EAR—PLEASURE OF THE.—The most spiritual of all enjoyments, the least sensual of the senses. Where can its sensibilities be so well cultivated, and impart such a hallowing character to delight, as amid the various and exquisite harmonies of nature, the vocal fields, the rustling woods, the deep-mouthed and sonorous sea? Let each of these pleasant sounds, as it falls upon the drum of the ear, be as a *reveille*, calling upon our thoughts, to arise, and be wafted heavenward upon the symphonious air. These are the feelings that make *all* music sacred. No wonder that the deaf are often morose and dejected, while the blind, shut out as they are from the world, almost invariably draw in cheerfulness through the ear.

ENDOWMENTS—CHURCH. See Poison; but do *not* see the Bible. An old tradition bears, that when Constantine, the Emperor, first endowed the Church, a voice was heard from heaven, crying out, "This day is poison poured into her?"—Whatever may be thought of the tradition, no one can doubt the fulfilment of the prophecy.

"GRAVITY"—says Rochefoucald, "is a mystery of the body, invented to conceal the defects of the understanding."

ERROR OF CALCULATION.—The life of nine-tenths of inankind is a gross error of calculation, since they attach themselves to the evanescent, and neglect the permanent, accumulating riches in a world from which they are constantly running away, and laying up no treasures in that eternity to which every day, hour, minute, brings them nearer and nearer.

THE QUAKER.—In a voyage round the world, a work recently written by an officer on board the U. S. Frigate Columbia, occurs the following anecdote:

"One of our lieutenants told me a story of a sailor attached to a ship, that interested me much. "He was an excellent seaman, and so religious and peaceful, that he was called *par excellence*, the quaker. He was religious in all his doings, and with few companions, seemed to stand apart from the majority of his shipmates, as one who had little sympathy with them: but every officer and sailor respected him, for he was intelligent and faithful—as brave as he was religious, as generous as he was reserved. He devoted his leisure to mental improvement and the Bible: but if a daring work of duty was to be done—a deed of danger and of skill—there was none so prompt and firm as the Quaker to undertake it. Once a storm arose suddenly at night, and (though I have forgotten the peculiar nautical circumstances) it carried away a mast, the ship broached to, and a heavy sea broke over the quarter; when as she heeled and the decks filled, it was discovered that all the lee ports had been closed, and the scuppers were not enough to release the accumulating flood. The flapping of the loose sails against the rigging—the moaning of the winds and waters, quite drowned the voice of the trumpet, and there was great danger of the ship's going suddenly down in the trough of the billows. Then, as the lurid lightnings for a moment illumined the deck, confusion and consternation were revealed in every direction—the men were rushing for the boats, the binnacle lights were out, and the weather helms-man had deserted his post:—when at that critical moment, the voice of one, touching his hat at the time, said firmly to the officer of the deck: 'Sir, shall I take the helm? no one is there.'

'Who speaks?' said the officer.

'It is the Quaker, sir.'

'Yes, take the helm, my good lad, and be quick but first knock out a lee port, while I hold the helm, and let out the water. The ship lays like a log, while these cursed fools are crazy.'

The Quaker sprang, with prompt alactrity, down the half sunken deck, up to his waist in water—a vent was soon made, and the whirling current hurrying to escape, almost took the dauntless mariner with it—but in a moment he was at the helm. Silence and obedience was restored among the crew, and the broken mast was cut away. The Quaker fixed his steady eye upon the breaking sea, headed the faltering prow to the wave, and the ship once more being relieved, soon righted—the sails secured were closely reefed, and safety reassured.

But had not the quaker been there, where might have been the ship and its trembling spirits? And what was it that armed this man with such fearless self-possession in the midst of peril? It was surely more than natural courage—yes, it was a firm reliance on the providence of God, a submission to the decrees of *duty*, whatever and wherever they might be; it was the courage of religious faith—a faith that 'casteth out all fear."

ENNUI.—A French word for an English malady, which generally arises from the want of a want, and constitutes the complaint of those who have nothing to complain of. By the equalising provisions of nature, the rich, idle, and luxurious, are thus brought down to the level of their seeming inferiors, and made to envy those who envy them. When this ugly Goliath haunts the mind, he is only to be subdued by exertion and occupation.—"Throw but a stone, the giant dies." Authors have too much to do with printers' devils, to be annoyed with blue devils. They may inflict, but they seldom suffer *ennui*. No exorcism for the spleen, and the vapours, like that of the Muse. When Bellerophon went forth to conquer the Chimæra, he mounted Pegasus.

EQUAL.—That which a man of talent will seldom find among his superiors. As the wind and waters, abrasion and gravitation are perpetually tending towards a physical equalisation, by lowering mountains and filling up valleys, so, in the moral world, does the progress of social improvement gradually tend to equalise all ranks, by reducing the higher, and elevating the lower; a leveling process, equally conducive to the happiness and melioration of both. Civilization is, in fact, a gravitation towards that happy medium which is the centre of attraction to the social circle. Almost every man is a loser by being elevated above the sphere to which he is habituated. When the Duke of Orleans proposed to make Fontenelle perpetual President of the Academy of Sciences, his reply was—"Take not from me, my Lord, the delight of living with my equals."

THE AGITATOR.—A London correspondent of the New-York American in describing a public meeting furnishes this notice of the Irish Agitator.—

"Mr. O'Connell was quieted with six or eight rounds—during which the member for Dublin bowed, and bowed, and bowed gracefully, while hundreds of handkerchiefs were waving enthusiastically, and the massy walls of the building shook with the thunders of applause. It was the most enthusiastic reception of a public speaker I ever witnessed. Mr. O'Connell is a decided favorite. His electric wit, brilliant fancy, playful humor, exoriating sarcasm, inexhaustable versatility, deep pathos, musical voice, unique gesture, and inimitable expression of countenace, throw a charm, which it is impossible for the admirer of genius to break around the oratory of this legitimate son of the land of Curran, of Emmet, of Grattan, and of Burke.

REVIEW, RETROSPECTIVE—When we cast a Parthian glance backwards, and embrace in one far darting retrospect our whole existence, divided as it hasbeen into infancy, boyhood, manhood and old age, each a sort of separate life from the variety of thoughts, feelings, and events that it comprises what a long, long course of time seems to be condensed into the mental operation of a single moment. The period from our own birth to the present hour, appears more extensive and eventful than all that has preceded it even from the birth of the world, so different is the impression made by time experienced, and time imagined. In the former case, the view is broken by a succession of landmarks, each throwing back the distance, and giving to the whole the semblance of covering a much larger space than it really occupies. In the latter, we are gazing over an objectless sea, where the horizon is bought nearer to us for want of any standard by which to measure its remoteness. History is the shadow of time; life its substance, and they bear the same relation to one another, that the dim twilight does to the up-risen and visible sun. It is in vain to talk to men of throwing their minds into the past, or into the future, you may as well bid them leap out of themselves, or beyond their shadow. The present is all in all to us. As to the past ages, and those which are to come, "*De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio.*"

GRIEFS—are like the beings that endure them,—the little ones are the most clamorous and noisy; those of older growth, and greater magnitude, are generally tranquil, and sometimes silent. Our minds are like ill-hung vehicles; when they have little to carry, they raise a prodigious clatter,—when heavily laden, they neither creak nor rumble.

THE SIN OF SUPPRESSING TRUTH.—Grievously do men sin in suppressing truth for the advancement of party. What shall we say, when they suppress it for purposes of religious sectarism, or under pretext of absorbing regard to the soul? What shall we say, when ministers or private christians would dissuade us from such secular matters, and set forth our obligations to confine ourselves within our appropriate sphere of preaching the gospel, while these same persons spend as much time in opposing the progress of abolitionism as others in proclaiming the Gospel of Freedom, and are ready to speak and act for abolition or for their private political opinions, whenever there is opportunity? It is a sad thing in my view. Some are afraid of desecrating the Sabbath Sanctity, not in drawing an ox or an ass from the pit on the Lord's Day, in seeking the freedom and moral elevation of men for for whom the Sabbath was made. And some will tell us even that man may rightfully hold men as property.—And to some Garrison is so large—such a *monstrum harrendum, rastum*: that they can scarce turn in the direction of the slave without his prodigious and portentious bulk so rearing up as to hide the down-trodden vassal and the despotic lord. And so through one means and another, how mournfully have ministers, and the greater proportion of those who assume a religious profession, been seduced to guiltiest oblivion of the wrongs and woes of three millions of our American brethren and of the unutterable sinfulness of their oppressors—not their masters alone, but the whole people under whose eye, and with whose free consent, these brethren of ours are still enslaved!—*T. T. Stone.*

RICHES—Are seldom really despised, though they may be vilipended upon the principle of the fox, who imputed sourness to the unattainable grapes. We cannot well attach too much value to a competency, or too little to a superfluity, but we may and do err in generally defining the former as a little more than we already posess. Riches provide an antidote to their bane, for though they encourage idleness, they will purchase occupation, by change of scene, variety of company, pastimes of all sorts, and by that noblest employment of any, the exercise of beneficence. Robinson Crusoe might despise riches—so may a savage; but no sane and civilized man will hold them in contempt.

"If you live," says Seneca, "according to the dictates of nature, you will never be poor; if according to the notions of the world, you will never be rich."

SCOTCHMEN.—The inhabitants of every country except their own. "No wonder," says Dean Lockier, "that we meet with so many clever Scotchmen, for every man of that country, who has any sense, leaves is as fast as he can."

BE CHARITABLE.—Do not be hasty in condemning those as anti-Christians, as infidels, as enemies to truth and good Bible order, who embrace a theory which you have been wont to believe is fundamentally erroneous.—

NOTICES.

SINGING SCHOOLS.

MR. WM. C. WEBSTER would respectfully announce, that he will open a School for the study and practice of SACRED MUSIC, in the Hall corner of Broadway and Houston st., (entrance to which is No. 603 Broadway,) on THURSDAY EVENING, the 19th instant, at 7 o'clock.

A Juvenile Singing School, for children of both sexes, from 6 to 15 years of age, will be commenced on SATURDAY AFTERNOON, the 21st inst., at half past three o'clock, at the same place. The Pestalozzian system is made the basis of instruction in these schools.

Terms to the above schools—the adult, for gentlemen, $3; for ladies, $2 per course of 18 lessons. The Juvenile School, $2 per scholar for 24 lessons.

Tickets of admission to the above schools may be obtained at the Book stores of Gould, Newman & Saxton, corner of Nassau and Fulton streets, John P. Haven, [illegible] afternoons of school.

Refer to Rev. J. O. CHOULES, 502 Broome st.
Rev. LA ROY SUNDERLAND, Editor of [the Watchman.
L. EAMES, Esq., 88 Hicks st. Brooklyn, N.Y.
N. SOUTHARD, Editor Youth's Cabinet.
G. H. ANDREWS, Courier & Enq. Office.

SECOND APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICANS TAKEN IN THE AMISTAD.

The time has now arrived when new and heavy expenses are to be incurred for the protection and deliverance of the thirty-six surviving Africans who are still in the custody of our government, awaiting the final decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Several hundreds of dollars are still due for the expenses of instructing them daily for upward of fifteen months, and eminent counsel will be engaged as soon as the means are furnished, to conduct their defence, at Washington City, next January. If any one doubts the extremity of the peril in which these Africans are placed, let him read the Congressional document containing the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Spanish Minister.

Shall these hapless sons of Africa, for want of farther aid, and able professional defenders, be surrendered to the Spanish Minister, who claims them "not as slaves but as assassins?" Will not the generous men and women who have already contributed to afford instruction and legal protection to these interesting strangers, again open their hands for their relief—and will not those who have not yet contributed for these noble purposes, forward their donations, which are needed more than ever at this juncture? Donors can designate in what way their benefactions shall be appropriated—whether for education or general purposes. Such sums as may be contributed for the former purpose will be handed to the committee at New Haven, Rev. L. Bacon, Rev. H. G. Ludlow, and Amos Townsend, Jr. Esq., and other donations will be appropriated by the undersigned according to their best judgment. All donations will be acknowledged in the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, and a copy sent to each donor. The disbursements will also be published. Money can be sent to Samuel D. Hastings, Esq., No. 20 Commerce street, Philadelphia; to Rev. A. A. Phelps, No 36 Washington street, Boston; or to Lewis Tappan, 122 Pearl street, and 131 Nassau street, New-York.

S. S. JOCELYN,
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LEWIS TAPPAN, } *Committee.*

A Rich New Year's Present.

YOUTH'S CABINET.

For Families and Sunday Schools, weekly, at $1 per year, in advance.

THE Fourth Volume of this well known and highly approved Juvenile paper commences the first week in January, 1841, edited by N. Southard. It is made up of choice Narratives, original and select, pleasing Moral and Religious, Literary and Scientific Instruction, a variety of Useful Information, Juvenile Poetry, Anecdotes, &c., all designed to promote the best good of the young. It inculcates impartial Benevolence, Temperance, and all other Christian Virtues.

It is neatly printed on half a royal sheet, and each number contains one or more engravings. It has been highly recommended by one hundred editors and many parents and teachers, in notices and letters like the following:

From a Mother in Springfield, Mass.

"My little girl is delighted with the Cabinet. She can scarcely wait for the week to come round; and when the little welcome messenger arrives, her work or play is laid aside, to have a feast, as she calls it, with the welcome guest. She is willing to make any sacrifice rather than give up her paper."

From a Clergyman in Central New-York.

"My little daughter 8 years old, is very much delighted with your paper; and indeed, I read it myself with great interest."

We would refer those who wish for a neat, appropriate paper for their children, to the Youth's Cabinet, which they will find all they could desire in such a publication.—*Green Mountain Emporium.*

We hope all the young who can afford it, will have the opportunity of reading the Youth's Cabinet.—*N. H. Bap. Register.*

We must say, that it is decidedly the most interesting youth's paper we have seen.—*N. Y. Weekly Messenger.*

Mr. Southard, its editor, has a happy faculty to convey instruction in an interesting manner, so as to leave a strong impression upon the minds of his juvenile readers. Its moral influence is decidedly good. If any family of children should unite and send one dollar, post paid, they will never be sorry that they had paid out their money for so good a paper.—*Oberlin Evangelist.*

Orders should be addressed, (post paid,) to the editor at No. 9, Spruce street, New-York, or 25 Cornhill, Boston.

Dec. 10, 1840. 6w

FRIENDS' INTELLIGENCER.

For sale by Isaac T. Hopper, 143 Nassau Street.

THE FRIENDS' INTELLIGENCER, &c., containing 769 pages large octavo—price $1 50. It contains much interesting original and selected matter, well worth the attention of the members of the Society of Friends, as well as the public generally.

Bound up in the volume will be found, "Brief Remarks on some of the charges recently made against the early writers of the Society of Friends, by George Harrison, New Castle, England." The following short extract will shew, in some measure, the character of the work, viz:

"The working of this subtil spirit, which has got abroad,—this old accuser of the brethren, has been very insidious; it has been at work for many years, but durst not avow its real object and character. It pretended it was attacking Hicksism, but it was easy to see, long ago, that genuine Quakerism was meant. It is now throwing off the mask, and shewing itself in its true colors."

"THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, an absolute and irresistible proof of the Divine origin of Christianity; including a Narrative of the calamities which befel the Jews, so far as they tend to verify our Lord's predictions relative to that event: with a description of the City and Temple." This work is deeply interesting to Christians of all denominations.

"The history of the life of Thomas Ellwood, or an account of his birth, education, &c., with divers observations on his life and manners when a youth; and how he came to be convinced of the truth; with his many sufferings and services for the same. Also, several other remarkable passages and occurrences. Written by his own hand. To which is added, a supplement," by J. W.

It can hardly be necessary to inform any member of the Society of Friends of the merits of this work. It has gone through four editions, and is among the most interesting of Friends' journals.

This latter work can be had separately—price 50 cents.

Right and Wrong in the Anti-Slavery Societies.

——by the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free!
WORDSWORTH.

THE Seventh Annual Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, presented October 14, 1840. For sale at the anti-slavery office, 143 Nassau st. Price, 12½ cents single.

This work ought to be in the hands of every abolitionist.

The following selection from, it is the purest gold, and beautifully wrought out:

"The anti-slavery societies have not yet done their work. When, in the heat of political excitement, amid which the favorers of the cause, a few years hence, will be engaged; when, in the conflict of a northern and southern party, yet to spring out of this question, *compensation—partial emancipation—intermediate arrangements—delay*, become the rallying words of the opposition—then let the slave rejoice if the anti-slavery societies exist, to urge up to the mark a partially regenerated people, who, though *favorers* of the cause of freedom, will not deserve to be called its friends; for they will need constant and persevering rebuke, entreaty, warning, to prevent their making shipwreck of the cause. Not by numbers, but by laborious and energetic fidelity, will the work be wrought out. 'Not by might nor by power, but by *my Spirit*, saith the Lord of hosts!'

Nov. 19, 1840.

Just Published,

"*The Envoy, From Free hearts to the Free.*"

A COLLECTION of original pieces in poetry and prose, published by the Pawtucket Juvenile Emancipation Society, for the benefit of its funds.

This little volume is confidently recommended to the patronage of the public, as it is believed that it will be found to possess merit independent of the object which has called it forth. Many writers have contributed to the pages of the annual, presenting thereby a pleasing variety in style and sentiment; yet agreeing in these grand and fundamental points, the universal brotherhood of *man*, and the abolition of *all* slavery.

For sale at 143 Nassau street—25 Cornhill, Boston—the Anti-Slavery Office, Providence, and at J. M'Intyre's, Pawtucket, R. I. Price 42 cts.

New York, November 19, 1840.

Free Dry Goods.

CALICOES, bleached and unbleached muslins, bleached and unbleached Canton flannel, apron check, colored muslins, printed and plain pongees, bleached, unbleached, mixed, and lead-colored knitting cotton, cotton and linen table diapers, printed and plain grass cloths, wicking and cotton laps, fine linen thread, superfine bed ticking, cotton pantaloon stuffs, men's and women's cotton hose, white and black wadding. Also, a variety of silk, linen, and woollen goods, wholesale and retail.

CHARLES WISE,
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N. B. Persons from a distance wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders to the subscriber. C. WISE.

Dr. Church's Tooth Powder,

OR THE GREAT TOOTH PRESERVATIVE.

1. It is excellent in cleansing the Teeth and making them white, and preventing their decay. In order to keep the teeth clean and wholesome, the Brush and Powder must be used; for, by the frequent mastication of food, there is a viscid matter which adheres to the teeth, and which, if not removed, causes disease and decay.

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3. It is sure to cause and preserve a sweet breath, and a pleasant taste to the mouth. Sad indeed is the evil, the pain, the destruction of comfort and health, which is brought about by *neglect*. For there is and there can be nothing worse for an individual than a bad breath; yet by overlooking the teeth, how many hundreds and thousands have a disagreeable breath; and when in conversation, even, are conscious of it, and involuntarily turn their heads!—Still, all this can be remedied in a short time, by the application of the powder, so that health, comfort and beauty, and a sweet breath will be in the possession of all

4. It hardens the gums. When the gums are soft and spongy, this powder will make them hard. Nearly one-half of the teeth which are lost, is owing to the disease of the soft and spongy gums, and collection of tartar.

For sale by Gould, Newman & Saxton, corner of Fulton and Nassau streets.

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC FOR 1841.

This Almanac is filled with a great amount of original and interesting matter, from the pen of Theodore D. Weld. It is not only calculated to awaken a new and lively interest among Freedom's warmest friends, but admirably adapted to make new converts to the anti-slavery cause, as most of the popular objections to immediate and unconditional emancipation are considered in the author's clear, logical, and caustic style. Let there be no delay in procuring a copy; and when it is purchased, don't throw it aside, to be used only to ascertain the time of the sun's rising and setting, but at once read it through attentively. When you have done this, you will feel like co-operating with a few friends to put a copy into every family in your respective towns.—*Liberator.*

☞ Price $30 per 1000. 6 cents single. To be had at all the Depositories.

INFORMATION WANTED.—Of EDWARD POWELL, and CATHARINE CRUMWELL, his sister, formerly of Flatbush, L. I., subsequently of Brooklyn and of this city. Any person knowing either of the above named persons, or their children, will confer a favor by leaving word at this office, or at 61 Cherry street, upon A RELATIVE.

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